6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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FLORENTINE CODEX

[p. 1]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

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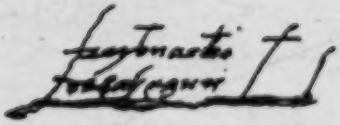
Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN



[p. ii]

6: Sahagún M-6 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Book 8 – Kings and Lords

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

By

Arthur J. O. Anderson
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IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART IX

Chapter heading designs are from the Codex

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[p. iii]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Ásiac NU7

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[p. iv]

[pp. v-vi have no textual material]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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CONTENTS

EIGHTH BOOK

Page

First Chapter, which telleth of the rulers and governors who reigned in Mexico from the beginning of [their] rule until the year 1560..... 1

Second Chapter, which telleth of the rulers who governed in Tlatilulco when the reign had not yet perished and when, later, once again the Spaniards gave back and restored [it] to them, until the year 1560..... 7

Third Chapter, where are told the rulers of Texcoco, and as many years as they governed..... 9

Fourth Chapter, in which are recorded the rulers of Uexotla..... 13

Fifth Chapter, in which it is told how many four hundreds of years ago Tollan was destroyed, up to [the present] year of 1565..... 15

Sixth Chapter, in which it is told how signs and omens appeared and were seen, when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, and when they were yet unknown to the dwellers here..... 17

Seventh Chapter, in which are told many things which came to pass when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, until the year '50..... 21

Eighth Chapter, in which are told the various articles with which they adorned the rulers and noblemen—which they placed on them when they were bedight in capes and breech clouts..... 23

Ninth Chapter, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced..... 27

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure..... 29

Eleventh Chapter. Here it is told what the rulers rested upon..... 31

Twelfth Chapter, in which it is told how the rulers were arrayed whom they sent to the wars..... 33

Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the foods which the lords ate..... 37

Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords; how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.... 41

Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.... 47

[p. vii]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

000

Page

Sixteenth Chapter, in which it is told how the women were trained..... 49

Seventeenth Chapter, in which are told the exercises of the rulers and how they might perform well their offices and their government..... 51

Eighteenth Chapter, in which it is told how they chose those who would govern 61

Nineteenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it..... 67

Twentieth Chapter, in which is told how they reared the sons of lords and noblemen 71

Twenty-first Chapter, in which is told how all arose through the ranks until they became judges..... 75

Appendix A: continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen..... 81

Appendix B: continuation of the Twentieth Chapter..... 83

Appendix C: continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter..... 87

[p. viii]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

000

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

following page 36

Page from *Florentine Codex* (Chapter 6)

1-9, 12-17. Rulers of Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1)
10, 11. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1)
18-27. Rulers of Tlatilulco (Chapter 2)
28-32, 34-41. Rulers of Texcoco (Chapter 3)
33. Omen observed in Texcoco (Chapter 3)
42-54. Rulers of Uexotla (Chapter 4)
55. Tollan (Chapter 5)
56-61. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 6)
62. Arrival of Spaniards on the coast (Chapter 7)
63. Game of *patolli* (Chapter 10)
64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10)
65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10)
66-68. Punishment of malefactors (Chapter 14)
69. Musicians (Chapter 14)
70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14)
71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14)
72-74. Women's array—*cipilli, cueitl* (Chapter 15)
75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16)
76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17)
77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17)
78, 79. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17)
80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17)
81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17)
82-84. Judges (Chapter 17)
85. A trial (Chapter 17)
86. Punishment of an erring official (Chapter 17)
87. Punishment of a careless musician (Chapter 17)
88-90. Keeping watch in the city against enemies (Chapter 17)
91. The game *tlachtli* (Chapter 17)
92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17)
93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 18)
95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19)
97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21)

[p. ix]

[p. x has no textual material]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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BOOK EIGHT--KINGS AND LORDS

Libro octauo, de los Reyes, y señores, y de la manera: que tenian, en sus electiones: y en el gouierno de sus Reinos.

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[p. xi]

[p. xii has no textual material]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

De los Reyes

EIGHTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE GREAT RULERS AND NOBLEMEN AND OF THE WAY IN WHICH THEY OBSERVED THE ELECTIONS IN THEIR GOVERNMENT.

JNIC CHICUEI AMOXTLI INTECHPA TLATOA YN HUEHUEY TLATOQUE IOAN IN PIPILTI YOAN IN QUENIN QUIPIAIA TLAPENALIZTLI YN IPAN TLATOCAIOTL.

173
648

First Chapter, which telleth of the rulers and governors who reigned in Mexico from the beginning of [their] rule until the year 1560.

Inic ce capítulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque ioan in governadores in otlatocatque mexico in iquichica ipeuhcan tlatocaiotl ioan in ixquichica xihuitl de 1560.

The first ruler of Mexico.

Acamapichtli first made the beginning, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. There was peace and quiet; wars had not yet come in his reign.

Inic ce mexico tlatoani

Acamapichtli achto compeualti tlatocat in tenochtitlan cempoalxiuitl oce iuian iocoaca in catca, aiatle iaoiotl ipan mochiuh.

The second ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Uitziliuitl was second, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. He began wars and conquered the people of Colhuacan.

Inic ome tenochtitlã tlatoanj.

Vitzilibuitl ic ome tlatocat in tenochtitlan cempoalxiuitl oçe iehoatl quipeualti in iauiotl, quinpeuh in colhoacan tlaca.

The third ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Chimalpopoca was third. He ruled Tenochtitlan ten years.

Ic ei tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Chimalpopoca ic ei tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlacxiuitl.

The fourth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Itzcoatzin was fourth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. He conquered the people of Azcapotzalco and Xochimilco.

Ic naui tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Itzcoatzin ic naui tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlacxiuitl onnaui quinpeuh in azcaputzalca ioan xuchmilca

The fifth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma the Elder was fifth, and ruled Tenochtitlan thirty years. He conquered and made war on all the people of Chalco; and on Quauhnauac and on all who were subject to Quauhnauac; and on Maçauacan. And in his reign there came a great

Inic macuilli tenochtitlan tlatoani

Veue motecuçoma, ic macuilli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: cempoalxiujtl ipan matlacxiuitl, quipeuh quj-iauchiuh in jxquich chalcatl ioan quauhnaoac ioan in ixquich moquauhnaocaitoa ioan maçaoacan, ioan ipan mochiuh in vei maianalizt̃li, nauhxiuitl ih

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

And in his reign there came a great
178 famine, which spread over the land for four years.
648 Hence was it said that the year One Rabbit had come.
[731] All the people of Mexico, and the Tepaneca and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].

manca injc mjtoa Necetochuiloc tepan moiaoac in jtequich mexicatl ioan tepanecatl, ioan acolhoacatl.

The sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Axayacatl was the sixth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. It came to pass in his reign that there was war between the people of Tlatilulco and those of Tenochtitlan. As a result of the struggle, the reign of Tlatilulco then came to an end. For forty-six years no one else reigned in Tlatilulco. And when the war was waged, he who was ruling Tlatilulco was named Moquiuixtli.

And this Axayacatl conquered Tlacotepec, and Callimaya, and Metepec, Calliztlauacan, Ecatepec, Cozcaquauhtenanco, Teotenanco, Malinaltenanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teoxuulco, Tequaloian, and Ocuillan.

Injc chicoacen, tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Axaiaca ic chicoacen tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlactiuitl ipā nauhxiuitl. Ipan mochiuh inic moiaochiuhque tlatilulca, ioan tenochca: inic mjxnamjque, vncan poliuh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco: vmpoalxiujtl ipan chiquacenxiujtl in aocac tlatocat tlatilulco. Auh in jcoac mochiuh iauiotl: tlatocatia in tlatilulco, itoca moquiuiatli.

Auh in iehoatl axaiaca, qujpeuh in tlacotepec, ioan callimaia, ioan metepec, calliztlaoaca, hecatepec, cocacquauhtenanco, teutenanco, malinaltenčco, tzinacantepec, coatepec, cujtlapilco, teoxocalco, tequaloia, ocujllan.

The seventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Tiçocicatzin was the seventh, and ruled Tenochtitlan four years. No wars were made in his reign.

Injc chiceme, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Tiçoçicatzin, ic chiceme tlatocat in tenochtitlan nauhxiujtl. Atle ipan mochiuh in iaviotl.

The eighth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

[312] Auitzotl was the eighth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for eighteen years. When he was ruler, Mexico was flooded. By his command it was done; five springs were opened, known as Acuecuexatl, Tlillatl, Uitzillatl, Xochcatl, and Coatl, which were in the territory of Coyoacan and Uitzilopochco.[1] When Mexico was flooded, four years were still to pass before Auitzotl died. And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded.

Injc chicuej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Auitzotl, ic chicuej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: caxtolxiujtl ipan exiuitl. Ioxoc tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico: itenopa mochiuh, inic motlapo macujltetl ozntl in jntoca Acuecuexatl, tlillatl, Vitzillatl xochcatl, coahtl, inma in coioacā ioan ujtzilupuchco: oc nauhxiujtl qujzatia, injc apachiuh mexico, in ziamo mjqui auitzotl. Auh in jcoac oallaque Españoles, ic iuh cempoalxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico:

And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday. For about five hours the darkness was overspread; the stars appeared. All were much terrified. It was said: "The demons of darkness will descend; they will eat people."

And he conquered these of Tziuhcoac, and Mollanco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoztlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayotlan, Maçatlan, and Coyoacan.

ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc, nepantla tonatiuh: aço macujlli horas in tlaoztimanca, nenque in cicidalti, cenca nemauhtiloc, mjtoaia: ca oalteneque in tzizimime, tequanque:

. ioan quinpeuh in tziuhcoaca, ioan mollanco, tlapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoztlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiotlan, maçatlan, coioacan.

175 The ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma was the ninth, and he ruled Tenoch-

Injc chicunauj, tlatoanj tenochtitlan.

Motecuçuma ic chicunaui tlatocat in tenochtitlan

1. Some in ordered. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has ỹ manā for ome.

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the song house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Cinacostl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose home was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpatepec, Coaxomaixtlauacan, Çacollan, Tecomaixtlauacan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Iollonocuillan, Atepec, Mictlan, Tlaxapan,[4] Nopalan, Itztec tlalocan, Cuextlan, Quetzalxepec, and Chichioaltzacualan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun came

cxmolxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl, ipan muchiuh maia- 175
nalistli oxiujtl in manca in aocmo qujauja, ic noujian [731]
tepan cenmani in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in
maianalistica.

Çā no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali [787]
catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlael-
napaloa, queuh veiah noquextepole uel xomjtotia,
atlā tiuetztoçe. In muchiuh, y, ie iuh oalmachixti in
Españoles.

Çī no iehoatl ipin mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca
ioaltica, mochi tlacatl qujcaquja in cho..ia qujtonia.
Nonepilhoantzitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no iehoatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacatl çihoatl 175
ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocoliztli, njman motocac 787
yitoalco ipan quitemanoque, ie iuh nauilhuitl motocac
in cihoatl micquj moscali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in
vncan motocaca tlatlatacco motlapo, auh in tetl ic
motemanca vēca veuetzito: auh in iehoatl cihoatl in
oiuh moscali, njman quinonotzato, quilhujto in
motecuçuma in tlein quittac quipouili, quilhuj. Ca
inic onjnoscali njmjtzilhujco. Ca ie itqujch ca
iehoatl nuca tzonquiça in tlatocaiotl in mexico ca-
teheatl mopan mantiaz in altepetl mexico. Aquijque
in ie uitze ca iehoantin tlalmacoaqujuj, iehoantin
onoque in mexico: auh in iehoatl mjcca çihoatl ie
no cemposlxiujtl oçe inen ioan oc ce quichiuh icon-
euh oquichtli:

Ioan mūec in altepetl quipeuh motecuçuma in 175
jtoca, icpatepec, cuexomaixtlauacan, çocollan, teco- 648
maixtlauacā, çacatepec, tlachquiauhco, iollonocuil- [103]
lan, atepec, mjctlan, tlaxpan, nopalan itztec tlalocan,
cuextlan, quetzalxepec, chichioaltzacalan.

Çan no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiujtl 175
aciqujni españoles motzaia netetzahujloa, in ioaltica 787
oalmoquetzaia cenca tonaoac in tlanextli iuhquin
tlemjiaoatl ieoual tlanextiticaca tonatiuh iquiçiampa
oalmoquetzaia vmpoliuja in ie oalquiça tonatiuh,

1. The corresponding Spanish text mentions three years of famine.
2. Cuitzo en espanda tanto. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has sol quando. Mapondo is clearly an error.
3. Tlaxapan. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

-3-

175 787 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise. For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

nauhxiujtl in mochipa mottaia ioaltica auh in jcoac polioh oc iuh nauhxiujtl açiqujui in españoles

175 648 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

ioan ipan mochiuh injc ipan açico españoles injc caçiquc injc qujpeuhquc Mexico in vncan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in noujian in nican iancujc españa de mjll e qujnjentos y dezinueue.

175 731 648 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Cuitlauac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great raising of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

Injc matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Cujtlaoa, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoalilhujtl oiuh açico in Españoles mexico. Iehuatl ipan muchiuh in calla vei cocoliztli, i cenca ic mjcoac in noujian altepetl ipan: mjto ca vej çaoatl, vej totomonalistli: in aic ceppa omottac inin aic onecocoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, qujtlacalhui in jxuiac: injc qujquiztic, chachaquachtic muchiuh, aocmo motocaia in mjmjcque, ϛ muchi atlan qujmoztlaçaia: ca in jcoac cenca nouijian atlan catca in mexico, ioã cenca tlaixtimomã, injc hijauque mjmjcque.

175 648 797 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

Injc matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl, ipan muchiuh: injc ichoantin españoles quipeuhque, caçique in altepetl in mexico, ioã in noujian ic qujiaoalotoc ixquich altepetl. Icoac tlãtocati in oallaque, açico matlactin omomen teupixque in ipalhoan Sanct frãcisco, in qujtecaoaltico tlateotoquilistli: ioan qujtemachtique tlanchoquilistli.

175 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[6] those Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquests—to Cuextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

Injc matlactlomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan exiujtl iepan españoles noujian iauquiçato in cuextlan, huduras, auh in ichoatl nonum de guzman, qujuicac in vej culhoacan vmpa mjequjto.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

Injc matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don pablo, xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: exiujtl.

5. *Ca muchi atlan.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ca hue pa.*
6. *Iepan:* ye *iuapan in ihtic.*

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The fourteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Diego Vanitl was fourteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc matlactli onnauj tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don Diego vanjtl, ic matlactli onnauj tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

The fifteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Diego Teuetzquiti was fifteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for thirteen years. It came to pass in his time that a great sickness came to be prevalent, known as a plague. From people's noses, blood issued; there was much death everywhere because of it, and there was death from famine. Very many were buried every day, everywhere. And in his time it was that the Chichimeca—those of Xochipilla—and the people of Cibola were destroyed and conquered.

Injc castolli tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don Diego teuetzquiti, ic castolli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiujtl ipan exiujtl, ipan mochiuh inic momanaco vei cocoliztli mjtoa pestilencia teiacapa quiz eztli cenca ic mjcnac in noujian ioan apiztmjcoac cencî mjec in motocaia cemjlhujtl in noujiâ. ioan ipan mochiuh injc poliuhque, penaloque chichimeca, xochipilieca ioan Scipola tlaca. 731 [648]

The sixteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Cristóbal Cecepatic was sixteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc caxtolli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don xpoual cecepatic, ic caxtolli oce, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

[p. 6 is blank]

175
648 **Second Chapter**, which telleth of the rulers who governed in Tlatilulco when the reign had not yet perished and when, later, once again the Spaniards gave back and restored [it] to them, until the year 1560.

The first ruler of Tlatilulco, Quaquapitzauac, who first began [the reign], governed Tlatilulco for sixty-two years. He conquered the people of Tenayuca, and Coacalco, and Xaltocan. When this one then ruled, two rulers of Tenochtitlan came together [one after the other], who were named Acamapichtli and Uitziliuitl.

The second ruler of Tlatilulco.

Tlacateotl [was] the second, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. It came to pass in his time that all the people of Acolhuacan and those of Coyoacan were conquered.

The third ruler of Tlatilulco.

Quauhtlatoa [was] the third, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. Two rulers, also, came together [one after the other], in Tenochtitlan. These [were] Itzcoatl and Moctezuma the Elder. It came to pass in his reign that the people of Azcapotzalco, and Coaixtlauacan, and Cuetlaxtlan, and Quauhtlinchan, and Xochimilco and all the people of Quauhnauac were destroyed and conquered.

The Fourth ruler of Tlatilulco.

Moquiuixtli [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco nine years. In his time the reign of Tlatilulco came to an end; for he and his brother-in-law, Axayacatl, ruler of Tenochtitlan, quarreled. [The latter] then made war upon Moquiuixtli and the people of Tlatilulco. And this Moquiuixtli of his own will quickly
[762] ascended to the summit of a [pyramid] temple, that he might cast himself from there; wherefore he then died.

Don Pedro Temilo: when he was made ruler of Tlatilulco, he was the one who again started the

Injc vme capitulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque in otlatocatque tlatilulco, in aiamo poliuj tlatocaiotl, ioan in çatepan oc ceppa oquijnmacaque oquijncuepilique españoles in ixquichica ipan xiujtl de 1560.

Injc ce tlatilulco tlatoanj Quaquappitzaoac achto compeoalti tlatocat in tlatilulco iepoalxiujtl omome, quimpeuh in tenaiocan tlaca, ioan coacalco ioan xaltocan, in iehoatl, y, ic tlatocat quinnamjcticatca vmentin tlatoque in tenochtitlan in omoteneuhque Acamapichtli ioan vitziliujtl.

Injc vme tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Tlacateutl ic vme, tlatocat in tlatilulco, cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl omej, ipan muchiuh injc peoaloc ixquich aculhoacatl ioan coioacatl.

Injc ei tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Quauhtlatoa, ic ei tlatocat in tlatilulco cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolli omej xiujtl, quinnamjcticatca no vmentin tlatoque catca in tenochtitlan, iehoatl itzcoatl, ioã veuz motecuçuma. Ipan muchiuh injc poliuh injc peoaloc, azcaputzalcatl ioan coaixtlaoacã, ioã cuetlaxtlan, ioan quauhtlinchan, ioan xochmjlco ioan in jxquich quauhnaoacatl.

Injc nauj tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Moquijxtli, ic nauj tlatocat in tlatilulco: chicunauhxiujtl, ipã inpoliuh tlatocaiotl tlatilulco, inic çan mococolique in jtex azaiaca tlatoanj tenochtitlan, injc quijauhchiuh moquijxtli ioan tlatilulca. Auh in iehoatl moquiujxtli çan jnoma in tlecotiuetz iicpac teucalli injc vmpa oalmomaxiuh injc vncan mjc.

Don pedro temjlo icoac omotlatocatlali in tlatilulco, iehoatl ie no compeoalti in tlatocaiotl, in oiuh

175 148 reign, when the Spaniards took and conquered the City of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had come from afar, went taking him with them everywhere when they conquered Cuextlan, Honduras, and Guatemala.

conaçiqueˉ compeuhqueˉ Españoles in altepetl mexico, noujian quijuicatinen in vēca españoles injc tepeuhqueˉ in cuextlan, hunduras, quauhtemallan.

Don Martín Ecatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco. He ruled three years in the time of the Spaniards. In his time, it came to pass that [the demon] Cuacoatl ate a small boy [as] he lay in his cradle there in Aacapotzalco. And in his time it happened that two eagles were[1] in separate wooden [231] cages there in Tlatilulco. When for eight years they had been in wooden cages, eggs were laid; each eagle laid two eagle eggs.

Don Martin hēca ic vnac tlatocat in tlatilulco: exiujtl ic inpan in españoles. Ipan muchiuh, i çiocoatl quiqua piltzintli coçolco onoca vmpa aacapotzalco: ioan ipan muchiuh, vnteme quaquauhti quauhcalco manca no manca in vncā tlatilulco ic iuh chicuexiuitl mani quauhcalco motentiqueˉ tlatlazqueˉ, oontetl in quauhtetl quitlazqueˉ icecentetl quauhtli.

Don Juan Auelittoc [was] the third, and he ruled Tlatilulco four years.

Don Iuan avellitoc ic ei tlatocat, in tlatilulco nauhxiujtl.

Don Juan Quauic onoc [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco seven years. And at the same time Don Pablo Xochiquen ruled Tenochtitlan. There came to pass in Tlatilulco a great marvel, a great example, [showing] how the world was to come to an end.

Don Iuan quauic onoc, ic nauj tlatocat in tlatilulco chicoxiujtl ioan icoac tlatocati Don pablo xochiquen in tenochtitlā, in muchiuh tlatilulco vej tlamauiçolli vej neixcujtilli injc tlamjx cemanaoac

Don Alonso Quauhnochtli [was] the fifth, and he ruled Tlatilulco two years.

Don Alonso quauhnochtlj, ic macujlli tlatocat in tlatilulco oxjujtl.

Don Martín Tlacatecatl [was] sixth, and he ruled [731] Tlatilulco for six years. In his time there came to pass the aforementioned great plague and a war in which were conquered the Chichimeca—people of Nochtlan,[2]—and Cibola, in the time of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy here in New Spain.

Don Martin tlacateccatl, ic chiquacen tlatocat in tlatilulco chicoacexiujtl. Ipan muchiuh in omoteneuh vej cocolixtli ioan in iaoiutl injc peoaloque chichimeca, nochtlan tlaca, Scibola, ipan Don Antonjo de mendoça visorrej in nꝛjcan iancujc españa

Don Diego Uitznauatlailotlac [was] the seventh [731] to rule in Tlatilulco. In his time there was a great plague, known as the swellings of the neck, and many were the deaths from it. And this one ruled ten years.

Don diego vitznaoatlailotlac ic chicome tlatocat in tlatilulco. Ipan muchiuh vej cocolixtli, itoca quechpoçaoalixtli cenca ic mjcoac, auh in ieiouiaˉ motlacxiujtl in tlatocat.

1. For manera no manca, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has manera no manqua.
2. In ibid., nochtpeltecas, yoan tenochca tlaca, yoan teiticaca nochtlan tlaca.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Third Chapter, where are told the rulers of Texcoco, and as many years as they governed.

The first ruler, who began the reign in Texcoco, was Tlaltecatzin. He ruled only eighty days, and nothing [of note] happened in his time. This one [was one of] the Chichimeca rulers.

And the second who became ruler, who followed Tlaltecatzin, was Techotlalatzin the Chichimeca. And he ruled seventy years; nor did anything [of note] occur in his time.

And the third who became ruler of Acolhuacan[1] was Ixtlilxochitl the Elder. He ruled for sixty-five years. [And] nothing [of note] befell in his time.

And the fourth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualcoyotzin. He ruled seventy-one years. And at this time, in the time of Neçaualcoyotzin, the war was begun. The two, [Neçaualcoyotzin and] the ruler of Tenochtitlan, Itzcoatzin, conquered the Tepaneca, and they conquered people everywhere. Thereafter this Neçaualcoyotzin founded and laid down the seat of authority[2] of Acolhuacan or Texcoco.

And the fifth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualpilli, and he ruled for fifty-three years. In his time war was made in all parts through which people were conquered. And when these two, Neçaualcoyotzin and Neçaualpilli, ruled, they were besieged by Tlaxcala and Uexotzinco.

And in the time of Neçaualpilli began what kept appearing, in the heavens, like a light, like a flame of

Injc ej capítulo vncan mjtoa in texcuco tlatoque, injc iequi xiuitl tlatocatque. 173

Injc ce texcuco tlatoanj, Qujpeoalti in tlatocaiutl in texcuco ichoatl in tlaltecatzin çan napoalilhujtl in tlatocat atle ipan muchiuh, chichimeca tlatoque, y-

Auh injc vme tlatoanj muchiuh, in qujoaltoqujli in tlaltecatzin ichoatl in techotlalatzin chichimecatl, auh in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

Auh injc ej, tlatoanj muchiuh acolhoacan ichoatl in veue ixtlilxochitl in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ioan macujxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

Auh injc nauj tlatoanj muchiuh tezcuco ichoatl in neçaoalcoiotzin in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ioan cexiujtl, auh in ichoatl, y, in neçaoalcoiotzin ipan peuh in iaoiutl im omextin in tenochtitlan tlatoanj. Itzcoatzin inic quipeuhque tepaneca: auh in noujian tepeuhque quin ichoatl quipeoalti in neçaoalcoiotzin in quitecac in petlatl in jcpalli in acolhoacan tezcuco. 173 148

Auh injc macujlli, muchiuh tlatoanj tetzcuco, ichoatl in neçaoalpilli auh in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl vn matlactli ioã exiujtl in jpan muchiuh iauiutl in noujian ic tepeoaloia auh in ichoantin im omextin in neçaoalcoiotzin ioan neçaoalpilli in jcoac tlatocatque tzacutiçatca in tlaxcalla ioan vexotzinco.

Auh in neçaoalpilli ipan peuh in tlein oalmoquequetzaia illujcatitech in iuhquj tlanextlj in iuhquj 173 787

1. The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"señor de Tezcuco, o de Acolhuacan"*; cf. also Charles E. Dibble: *Códice Xolotl* (México: Universidades de Utah y de México, 1951), Pls. III. The term Acolhua refers to a grouping held together by kinship and political alliance occupying territory east of Lake Texcoco, with Texcoco as its center. Their main competitors for dominance in the valley were the Tepaneca, centered at Azcapotzalco. On the Acolhua, see Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl: *Historia Chichimeca* (México, 1892), pp. 41, 42, 99; also *Relaciones* (México, 1891), p. 303. "*Y así pasó los ciudades y pueblos que eran de su parte de los acolhuas, que son Tezcuco, Huexotla, Coluacán.*" "*Coluacán, de los acolhuas*" is referred to in *ibid.*, p. 289; "*Al distrito de estos tres, que son Tezcuco, Huexotla, Coluacán.*" "*Coluacán, le dió á Coluacánchan con otros muchos pueblos y lugares donde los reyes poblaron cuando los fueron á conquistar*" (*ibid.*, p. 269).

2. *In petlatl, in icpalli*—the grass mat and the seat. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún uses the term *señorío*. The expression is illustrated there figuratively in Andrés de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Nouv. Ramses, ed.: Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), pp. 318, 321.

173 787 fire. It glowed each night. And for four years this came to pass. In the year count Seven Flint Knife it came to appear for the first time, and its disappearance [was] in the year count Eleven Flint Knife. And thus it persisted for four years. In many places mountains and crags broke up. And that which continued to appear, ended four years before the Spaniards came to arrive. And when Neçaualpilli died, [the Spaniards] were not yet present.

tlemjiaoatl iceioal tlatzeztiica, auh nauhxiujtl in ipan muchiuh ipan xiuhtonalli chicome tecpatl in iancujcan necico auh inpoliuh ipan xiuhtonalli matlactloce tecpatl auh injc tlumanca nauhxiujtl mjeccan xiti tepetl in tezcalli auh in jcoac poliuh in tlen oalmoquequetzaia oc iuh nauhxiujtl aciquiuj in Españoles, auh icoac mjc in neçaoalpilli aocmo ixpan

175 648 And the sixth who became ruler of Texcoco was Cacamatzin, who ruled four years. It came to pass in his time that the men from Castile arrived here.

Auh injc chicoacen tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in cacamatzin in tlatocat nauhxiujtl. Ichoatl ipã muchiuh injc açico njcan castillan tlaca

And the seventh who became ruler of Texcoco was Coanacochtzin, who ruled five years. It was in the time of both [Coanacochtzin and] Quauhtemoctzin, ruler of Tenochtitlan, that the Mexicans were conquered.

Auh injc chicome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco, ichoatl in Coanacochtzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl ichoatl ipã muchiuh injc peoaloque mexica im omeztin quauhtemoctzin tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

And the eighth who became ruler of Texcoco was Tecocoltzin, who ruled one year in the time of the men from Castile. Already at this time the Marquis was in Texcoco; here preparations for war were made by which he vanquished the Mexicans.

Auh injc chicuej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in tecocoltzin in tlatocat cexiujtl ie imjxpan in Castillan tlaca ie icoac in tetzcuco catca marques vncan moiaochichiuh injc qujmpeuh mexica.

The ninth who became ruler of Texcoco was Ixtlilxochitzin, who ruled eight years. And when the Mexicans were conquered, [the Spaniards] went taking him with them. He stood by the Marquis. And [the Marquis] took him to Uei mollan.[3] It came to pass that in their time the city [of Texcoco] was completely quieted, that the Marquis and Coanacochtli together set [affairs] in order.

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in ixtlilxochitzin in tlatocat chicuexiujtl auh in icoac peoaloque mexica qujujcatiuja in marques itlan ommoquetz ioã qujuicaia in vej mollan icholtzin imjxpan muchiuh injc vel motlatlali alteptl injc tlauellalali marques zehoan coanacuchtli.

175 The tenth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Yoyontzin. He governed one year.

Injc matlactlj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in icoiontzin in tlatocat cexiujtl.

The eleventh who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Tetlauetzquititzin. He governed five years.

Injc matlactloçe tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in tetlauetzquijtitzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl.

The twelfth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Don Antonio Tlauitoltzin. He governed six years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco ichoatl in don Antonjo tlaujtoltzin in tlatocat chicuecexiujtl.

The thirteenth who became ruler of Texcoco [is]

Injc matlactlj omej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco,

3. Cf. *Codex of 1576* (I. M. Ashkin: *Historia de la nation mexicana. . . . Reproduction du Codex de 1576* [Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, Editeurs, 1993]), p. 87, and *Mapa de Tepechpan.*

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

the present ruler, Don Hernando Pimentel, who hath governed nearly twenty years.[4]

And in all the time that the Acolhua kept the reign, in all, have been counted three hundred and four years until the time the Spaniards arrived.[5]

ichoatl in axcan tlatoanj don hernando pimentel in otlatocat achi cẽpoalxiujtl

Auh ie ixquich cauitl quijpia in tlatocaiotl in aculhoaque in ie ic mocempoa caxtolpoalxiujtl ioan nauhxiujtl. in ixquich cauitl in oacico españoles

4. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS (Primeros memoriales, Chap. III) has, *for achi cempoalxiujtl* (nearly twenty years), *cenxiujtl* (fifteen years).

5. In *ibid.*, this last paragraph reads, in part, varying from the *Florentine Codex*: "y ye ic cenxiuipoa cenxiujtl ynnic cepoalxiujtl ynnic cenxiujtl ye ixquichiloc cenxiuitl ynnic nimoxmilli onnauhi" (304 years until the year sign Two Reed in which we now are).

[p. 12 is blank]

173 **Fourth Chapter, in which are recorded the rulers of Uexotla.**

Inic nahuj expítulo ynean motenehoa in tlatoque vexotla.

Behold, the Chichimeca rulers of Uexotla were known as Acolhua. There the Acolhua Chichimeca first arrived.

Ixcate in chichimeca tlatoque catca vexotla in motenecoa aculoaque in vmpa achto açico aculhoacan chichimeca.

The first who became ruler of Uexotla [was] Maçatzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-eight years.

Inic ce tlatoanj muchiuh uexotla Maçatzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The second ruler [was] Tochin tecutli. He ruled thirty-eight years.

Inic vme tlatoanj tochin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The third ruler [was] Ayotzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-four years.

Inic ei tlatoanj aiotzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipā matlacxiujtl ioan nauhxiujtl.

The fourth ruler [was] Quatlauiçe tecutli. He ruled fifty-five years.

Inic nahuj tlatoanj quatlauiçe tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl.

173 648 **The fifth ruler was named Totomochtzin; he ruled fifty-two years. And these five Chichimeca rulers, who maintained well the government [of Uexotla], exacted tribute from no one in the three hundred[1] years in which they [thus] maintained well their sovereignty.**

Inic macujlli tlatoanj itoca totomochtzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ipan matlacxiujtl ioan vnxiujtl auh in jmacujlixtin, y, chichimeca tlatoque in uel quipiaia in jtlatocaio in acampa tequjtia caxtolpoalxiujtl in uel quipix in jtlatocaio.

The sixth ruler was named Iaotzin tecutli; he ruled fifty-eight years.[2] In his time the Acolhua Chichimeca began to exact tribute of [those of] Tepanoayan.

Inic chiquacen tlatoanj itoca iautzin tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ipan exiujtl iehoatl ipan peuh inic tequjtque tepanoaia chichimeca aculhoaque.

173 **The seventh ruler was named Xilotzin tecutli. He ruled twenty-eight years.**

Inic chicume tlatoanj itoca xilotzin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

The eighth ruler was named Itlacauhtzin. He ruled twenty-eight years.

Inic chicuej tlatoanj itoca itlacauhtzin in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

The ninth ruler was named Tlaçolyaotzin; he ruled fifty-eight years.[3] At about this time it came

Inic chicunauj tlatoanj itoca tlaçoliautzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl quj

1. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS (Veinteno'memorables, Chap. III), the Nahuatl text reads caxtolpoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ioan ceiuitl (313 years).
2. Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.
3. Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.

173 to pass that the seat of authority was established in Texcoco, so that Neçaualcoyotzin was invested with rule. [Their periods of rule] came together—[that of] Tlaquiyauatzin of Uexotla [and that of Neçaualcoyotzin].

iehoatl ipan mochiuh injc motecac petlatl icpalli texcuco injc motocutlali neçaualcoiocotzin monamicque tlaquiiauatzin vexotla.

The tenth ruler was named Tzontemoctzin. He ruled fifteen years.

Injc matlactli tlatoanj, itoca tzontemoctzin: in tlatocat caxtolxiujtl.

The eleventh ruler was named Cuitlauatzin. He ruled forty-one years.

Injc matlactlooc tlatoanj, itoca Cuitlaoatzin: in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan cexiujtl.

The twelfth ruler was named Tzapocuetzin. He ruled thirteen years.

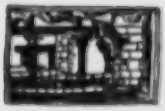
Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj, itoca tzapocuetzin: in tlatocat matlacxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The thirteenth ruler was likewise called Cuitlauatzin; only he succeeded [the former]. He ruled thirteen years.

Injc matlactli omej tlatoanj, çan no itoca Cuitlaoatzin, çã tetoca: in tlatocat matlacxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

And all the time [until] now, up to the year we are in—when the government was held in Uexotla—thus is added up to five hundred and sixty-two years, until the present year-sign, Two Reed.

Auh in ie ixquich cuujtl, ascan .pan in xiujtl ticate: in ie ie mocempoa, in mopia tlatocaiotl vexotla: ie centzonxiujtl, ioan chicuepoalxiujtl ican exiujtl, in ixquichica ipan ascan xiuhtonalli, vmacuil.



Fifth Chapter, in which it is told how many four hundreds of years ago Tollan was destroyed, up to [the present] year of 1565.

Injc macujlli capitulo, ipan mjtoa: in ie quezquitzonxiujtl poliuh tullan, in jxquichica xiujtl, de 1565. 173

The city of Tollan [was] a very large city, and truly a marvel. A great many powerful and wise men lived there. Their history will be told in the Tenth Book. And how they were destroyed, how they dispersed and people fled—all [this] will be related there. But in this chapter, all that is to be said is how many four hundreds of years [it hath been] since the Tultecs were destroyed.

This was in [the year] one thousand, one hundred and ten; from there [the count] reacheth and endeth at this year, 1565.[1] And twenty-two years after Tollan was destroyed, the Chichimeca came to rêach and take the land and establish themselves there in Texcoco.

And the first who became their leader, something like their ruler, became so in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1246. And the [first] ruler of Ascapotzalco, who was named Teçoçomoctli,[2][became so] in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1348. And the [first] ruler of Mexico, Acamapichtli, [became so] in [the year] of the birth [of Our Lord], 1384. And the ruler of Tlacopan, whose name was Chimalpopoca, died[3] in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1489.

In altepetl tullan, cenca vej altepetl, uel maujxtic: cenca mjequjntin vncan nenca, in chicaoaque, in tlamatinj in jntlatollo mjtoz in jpan ic matlactli amoxtli. Ioan in quen opoliuh, in quenjn oxixitin, omomoiaoac: muchi oncan mjtoz. Auh in jpan, y, capitulo can ie ixquich vncan mjtoa, in ie quezquitzonxiujtl, in opoliuhque tulteca.

Ca ie ontzonxiujtl ipan cxxtolpoalxiujtl, ipan matlacxiujtl: oncan oallaci, oncan oallamj injn xiujtl, 1565. Auh ie iuh, cempoalxiujtl omome, opoliuh in tullan: in açico in tlalmaçeoaco: omotecaco in chichimeca, in vncan tetacuco.

Auh in iancujcan intetacancauh muchiuh, in iuhquima intlatocauh muchiuh ipan in tlacat in jxiuhtzin in totecujo Iesu xpo. 1246. Auh in azcapuzalco tlatoanj in xoteneoa teçoçomoctli ipan in tlcat in jxiuhtzin totecujo Iesu xpo. 1348. Auh in mexico tlatoanj, in acamapichtli ipan in tlacat, 1384. Auh in tlacopã tlatoanj, catca in jtoca chimalpopoca, ipan in mic ixiuhtzin totecujo Iesu xpo. 1489.

1. Corresponding Spanish text reads 1571.
2. After the fifth, this would be read either *cinco* or *cinq*.

[p. 16 is blank]

175
787

Sixth Chapter, in which it is told how signs and omens appeared and were seen, when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, and when they were yet unknown to the dwellers here.

When the Spaniards were not to arrive here for ten years, an omen first appeared in the heavens like a flame, a tongue of fire, as if it were showering the light of the dawn.[1] It appeared as if it were piercing the heavens; it was wide at the base and pointed at the top. Well into the midst of the heavens, well into their center it stood reaching; well into the heart of the heavens it was arriving. [That which] thus was seen arose there to the east,[2] and when midnight had passed, it appeared that dawn was breaking. When day broke, soon the sun destroyed it when he arose. For a whole year it came forth (it was in [the year sign] Twelve House that it began), and when it appeared, there was much crying out as they struck their mouths with their hands. All were frightened; all waited in dread.

The second omen came to pass here in Mexico. Of its own accord, fire broke out and burned fiercely in the house of the devil Uitzilopochtli. No one set fire to it; of its own accord it took fire. It is said that the name of the place[3] was Tlacatecco. When [the fire] appeared, already the squared, wooden pillars were blazing. From within, the flame, the tongues and flames of fire, came forth. Very quickly it consumed all the house beams. Then there was shouting; [the priests] said: "Mexicans! Run here to extinguish [the fire! Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they poured water upon it, when they tried to put it out, still more did it flare up. It could not be extinguished, and it burned completely.

[As] the third omen, a temple was struck by a thunder bolt.[4] It was only a straw hut, a place named

Ic chiqueçen espãnola, vncan mjtoa in nez, in mottac, in machioti, ioan in tetzaujtl, in aiamo oalhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, ioan in aiamo iximachoia, in njcan chaneque.

In aiamo oallaci españoles, oc matlacxiujtl: centlamantli tetzaujtl achto nez ilhujcatitech, iuhquj in tlemjiaoatl, iuhquja tlecueçallotl, iuhquin tlaujxcalli pipixauhticaca, injc neçia iuhquin ilhujcatl quiçoticac, tzimpatlaoac, quapitzaoac, uel inepantla in jlhujcatl, uel iiolloco in açiticac ilhujcatl, vel ilhujcaiollotitech açiticac in iuh itoia vmpa tlapcopa in oalmoquetzaia, oiuh onquiz ioalnepantla in neçia tlathujlaia, ipan tlathuja. Quin ichoatl quiçoalpoloaia in tonatiuh, in jcoac oalquiçaia: uel cexiujtl in oalmoquetzaia (ipan matlactlomome calli in peuh) auh in jcoac neçia tlacaoacaia, netenujtecoia, neiçaujloia, tlatemmachoia.

Injc vntel tetzaujtl muchiuh, njcan mexico, çan monomauj in tlatlac cuetlaq, aiac ma quiçtlecauj çan monoma tlecauj, in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli mjtoaia itocaiocan tlacateco in nez ic tlatla in tlaquetzalli iitic oalquiça in tlemjiaoatl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecueçallutl, cenca çan iciuhca compalo in ixquich calquaujtl. Niman ie ic tlacaoaca quiiioa. Mexicac, ma oallaxoteca, tlaceujlos, amapilol: auh in jcoac caxtequiaia, in quiceujznequja, çan ie ilhujce mopitza aocmo uel çeuh uellallac.

Injc etetl tetzaujtl, vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzommolco, iteupan in

1. This may be clarified by reference to Pl. 4, Book XII.
2. Cf. various versions in Chaps. I and III, and in Book XII, Chap. I, as well as in the Huichol version in the *Real Palacio* MS, the corresponding Spanish text, and Eduard Seler: *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Quellen Seler-Studien, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 453. Alternative translations appear to be possible.
3. *Milpanco tlamahuiçoc*: in a similar passage, the *Memorial de Tlatelolco* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún—Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España* [Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906], VII, p. 91) has *milpanco, yeipiyoc, yeinopoli*. Cf. also Pl. 5, Book XII.
4. Cf. Pl. 7, Book XII.

175 787 Tzonmuken, the Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was not raining hard, but only sprinkling. This was taken as an omen of evil, [for] it was said that it was only a summer flash, and that thunder did not sound.

[As] the fourth sign of evil, [while] there was still sun, a comet fell. It became three parts and began from where the sun set and went toward where he arose. It went as if showering sparks; for a great distance its wake went extending; far out did its tail reach. And when it was seen, there was much shouting; like [the rattle of] shells[5] it spread about.

[As] the fifth omen, the water [of the lake] foamed up, and the wind did not stir it up. It was as if it welled up, as if it boiled up with a cracking noise. Very far did it go as it rose upward, and it reached the lower parts of the houses; and, wet by the water, the houses crumbled. This was the great like which extendeth by us here in Mexico.[5a]

[As] the sixth omen, often was heard a woman, who went weeping and crying out at night. She cried out loudly; she went about saying: "O my beloved sons, now we are at the point of going!" Sometimes she said: "My beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

[23] [As] the seventh omen, at one time the fisher folk hunted or snared with nets. They took a bird of ashen hue, like a crane. Then they came to show it to Moctezuma, [who was in] the Tlillan calmecac.[6] The sun was past his zenith, and there was yet daylight. There was what was like a mirror upon its head—round, disc-like, and as if pierced. From it appeared the heavens—the fire drill, the stars. And Moctezuma took it as a most evil omen when he saw the stars and the fire drill. And when he gazed a second time at the bird's head, beyond, he beheld what appeared to be like a number of people, coming massed, coming as conquerors, coming in war panoply. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the astrologers[7] and the wise men, and said to them: "Do you not know what I have

xiuhtecutli, amo tlaçoaia, çan aoachquiauja in iuh tetzammachoc, iuh mjto in ca çã tonalhujtecoc, amono caquiztic in tlatlatzinjlizti.

Injc nauhteti tetzamachiotl, oc vnca in tonatiuh in xiujtl vetz: ietzetia, vmpa oalpetuh in tonatiuh icalaqujampa, auh vmpa itztia in jquiçaiampa, iuhquin tlexuchtli pipixauhtiuh, ueca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca açitiuh in jcuitlapil. Auh in oittoc cenca tlacaoacac, iuhquin oioalli onmoma.

Injc macujlteti tetzaujtl, poçon in atl amo i checatl quijpoçonalti, iuhquj mumuloca, iuhquj xititemumoloca: cenca veca in ia injc macoquetz, auh in calli tzitzintla cacic auh capapachiuh xititin in calli iehoatl in vej atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzaujt: mjiecpa çihoatl cacoua chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaiioca, cenca tzatzi: quitoiiemj, nonoçilhoantzitzin ic ic çan ie touj: in quenmanja quitoa, nonoçilhoantzitzin campa nanechnoujqujliz.

Injc chicuntlamantli tetzaujtl, ceppa tlatlamaia, manoço tlamaitlaujaia in atlaca, centetl caçicque tototi, nextic: iuhquin tocujlcoiotl. Niman quitrilico in motecuçuma; tlillan calmecac o notecalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca: iuhquin tezcatl icpac manj, malacachtic, teujlacachtic, iuhquj aapotticac: vnpa onneçia in ilhujcatl: inmamalhoaz in çiçitlalti. Auh in motecuçuma cenca quimotetzauj in jcnac quimjttac çiçidalti ioan mamalhoaztli: auh injc oppa ontlachix, in jcpac tototi: ene quittac iuhquj on in ma acame moquequetztiuitze, tepeuhtiuitze moiauchichiuhtiuitze quinmama mamaça, auh njman quinnotz in tlaçiuhque in tlamatinjme quimjlhuj. Amo anquimati, in tlein onocon jttac iuhquin acame moquequetztiuitze. Auh ie quinanquilizquja in conjtaque opoliuh noc tle uel quitoque.

5. The term *ecaili* appears to be capable of interpretations as turtle, bell, or shell. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book 1, *The Gods* (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1950), p. 1, and Book VII, *Sun, Moon, and Stars* (1953), Appendix, where, under *Tzonmiuh quauh*, Sahagún's name ? translates *ecaxolli* ancient. Cf. also Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1904), II, pp. 428, 462.

Cf. also Zelia Nuttall: *The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans* (Berkeley: University of California, 1903), Part I, fols. 8, 48, where the *ecaxolli* are pictured in an anachronous Codex in Florence, Italy.

5a. After *cenca*, the *Memoriales* ex 3 *Colecciones* reads: "*Auh ceçi' papachiuh cuepa xiuitze*"; after *mumuloca*: "*Auh yuic mocuepa yuic cemach çã no cuepa ya ỹ cenca cuitatia ỹ cecy epiqua.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en la galania, en una sala, que llamauan Tlillan calmecac.*" Cf. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Méjico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), IV, pp. 24-25 (note c).

7. *Tlapixcatqui*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), pp. 147, 171.

After *apoliuh*, the *Memoriales* ex 3 *Colecciones* reads: "*auc the cuel q'iuqz. oc cuppa q'nallaz ỹ tlacuiloqz. yn themaxiniuc, the yuic totol quiltiuiqz tenec oc yehuatl in quenmanel.*"

seen there, like a number of people coming massed?" And when they were about to answer, that which they looked at vanished. They could say nothing.

[As] eighth omen, often were discovered misshapen people. They had two heads, but only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecac, where Moctezuma beheld them. When he had looked at them, then they vanished.

175
787

Injc chicuetetl tetzaujtl, mjecpa motenextiliaia tlacx, tlacanetzolti, omotzontecomeque, ça ce in jxtlac vnpa quijnonujcaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa quijnjttaia in motecuçuma: in oquittac njman polaujia. [732]

[p.20 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

Seventh Chapter, in which are told many things which came to pass when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, until the year '50.*

In the year 1519, when the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, came to sally forth, very many boats came, in which the Spanish host traveled. And when Moctezuma knew of it, then he sent his emissaries, and they carried as greetings very many and costly articles.

And they thought that Quetzalcoatl had come. And when he went to arrive, then they gave and took all [which they carried] as greetings to this Captain, Don Hernando Cortés.

And when these Spaniards came to enter [the land], then the Tlaxcalans' Otomí[1] [warriors] went to meet them in battle. Not few, but very many thus fought and waged war with the Spaniards. And all of the Tlaxcalans' Otomí [warriors] died; the Spaniards slew them. By this were the Tlaxcalans much frightened, and these Tlaxcalans then sent messengers, [who] went to offer them food and all which they might need. And they welcomed them and escorted them to the homes of Tlaxcala.

And for a few days the Spaniards tarried and rested there. And the Spaniards then went there to Cholula. There they slew many Cholulans.

And after this, when Moctezuma had heard of it, he was much frightened; and all the people of Tenochtitlan were exceeding fearful. So once again he sent messengers. These whom this Moctezuma sent, lords and noblemen, went to meet the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés; they took with them a great deal of gold. And they went to meet him there between Popocatepetl and Iztac cioatl, [at a place] named Itualco.[2] There they conferred [with Cortés; one of]

Injc chicome capitvlo, vncan mjtoa mjiec tlamantli in inpan muchiuh in aiamo oalhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, in jxquichica vnpoalxiujtl onmatlactli. 175

In jpan xiujtl 1519 icoac quiçaco in capitan don hernando cortes, cenca mjiec in acalli oalla in vncan oalietiaque in españoles in ioquijxque: auh in oiuh qujma in iehoatl motecuçuma, njman tlaihoaiaque in jtitlanhoan, auh in qujtquijque in tetlapaloliztli cenca mjiec, ioan cenca tlaçotli in tlatquitl. 175 648

Auh momatque, ca iehoatl in quetzalcoatl ohoalla: auh in jcoac oaçito njman mochi qujmamacaque in qujtquijque tetlapaloliztli, in iehoatl, capitan don hernando cortes.

Auh in jcoac ie calactiujtze, in iehoantin españoles: njman qujiaunamjquito, in tlaxcalteca, imotonhoan: amo çan quexquichtin, cenca mjiequintin, ic oquimjcalque, oquinjauchiuhque, in españoles. Auh mochintin, mjcque in tlaxcalteca imotonhoan, quinmjctique, in españoles: ic cenca momauhtique, in tlaxcalteca, auh in iehoantin, in tlaxcalteca, njmã ic tlaihoaque, quinmacato in tlaqualli, in jxquich intech monequj: ioan quinpaccatlapaloto: ioan quinhujcaque, in vmpa inchan in tlaxcallan.

Auh çan quexquiltiujtl, in vncan motlalique, moçeujque, in iehoantin españoles. Auh in iehoantin, españoles njman iaque in vmpa cholollan: vncan mjiequintin, quinmjctique, in cholollteca.

Auh in jcoac, oiuh qujcac, in iehoatl motecuçuma, cenca momauhti: ioã yn jxquichtin, in tenochca cenca momauhtique: ic oc ceppa tlaihoa, in iehoatl motecuçuma iehoantin in quimjhoa in tetecuti, in pipiltin, quinamjquito, in capitan, don hernando cortes: cenca mjiec, in quitquijque, in teucujtlatl. Auh vncan in quinamjquito, in jtzalan popoca tepetl: ioan in jztac tepetl, in motenecca itholco. Vncan quinnonotzque, quimacaque in jtlatol, in jts motecu- [202]

* Corresponding Spanish text: *"Luego al año de 20."*

1. Cf. *Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102; Sahagún, Historia Eclesiástica Indiana, p. 474, n. 1, citing Torquemada, op. cit.* Cf. *also Sahagún (Kobredo ed.), IV, pp. 438., 149-150, n. 1.*

See also Book XII, Chap. xi.

2. Mendieta in Rémi Simeón: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), it is described as a *"Mont qui domine à l'entrée la vallée de Mexico."*

-21-

175 Moctezuma's elder[s] delivered his message. And
648 they offered him all [the gifts with which] they greeted him. They extended to him the gold and still other [goods].

And [the Spaniards] came straight here to Mexico. When Don Hernando Cortés came to arrive, he readied himself for war. And Moctezuma went to meet him there by the houses [of the outskirts of Mexico], there at Xolloco. He went to receive him in peace. And he offered him adoration and greeted the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés. Then he took him there to the great palace. There all the Spaniards remained.

And after some days, the Captain imprisoned Moctezuma.

And when word arrived from the coast that still more Spaniards had arrived, the Capetain went to meet them; he took some Spaniards with him, and [some] natives. And he left here Don Pedro Alvarado and still other Spaniards to guard the palace.

And when came the feast day of Uitzilopochtli, Don Pedro Alvarado and the Spaniards who were with him slew many Mexicans while they were observing the feast day of Uitzilopechtli. Thus war began.

And when the Captain returned from the coast, he brought many Spaniards. Not on this account did the Mexicans defer; they spread the war considerably.

[731] And the year 1520 was when Moctezuma died. And the Spaniards arose and went to Tlaxcala. And there befell a great plague here in Mexico; there was smallpox; and very many of the natives died.

In the year 1521, the Spaniards came once more. They stayed there in Texcoco. After some time they made war, and they vanquished and fought the Mexicans.

In the year 1522, once again the Mexicans gathered themselves and came together, those who had been dispersed and broken up because of the war.

[797] And the year 1524 was when the twelve Franciscan Fathers arrived to convert the natives of New Spain.

çuma: ioan quinacaque in jxquich in jnteclapaloaia, inin tetech açia, in teucujdatl, ioan oc cequj.

Auh çan oallamelauh, in njcan mexico, injc açico in ichoatl, don hernando cortes, çan oalmoiauchichiuhtia, auh in motecuçuma, vmpa in quinamjquito in caltenco, in vmpa xolloco, çan quipaccanamjquito: ioan quitlaclauhti, quitlapalo in capitan don hernando cortes, njman qujujcac in vmpa vej tecpan vncan motlalique, in jxquichtin españoles.

Auh in jquexquilhujioc, in ichoatl capitan oquilpi in motecuçuma:

auh in jcoac oaçico tlatolli, in vmpa atenco: injc oc centlamantin oaçic españoles: in ichoatl capitan oquinnamjquito, cequintin quinujcac españoles, ioan njcan tlaca: auh njcan quicaúhcia in don pedro aluarado, ioan oc cequintin españoles in tecpan tlapiaia.

Auh in jquac in oquiz ilhujuh vitzilobuchtli, in ichoatl don p° aluarado, ioan in espanoles in jtlan catca, mjequintin, quinmictique in mexica, in quilhujquiztiliaia vitzilobuchtli, ic vmpeuh in iauiotl.

Auh in jcoac in oualmocuep, in capitan: in vmpa atenco, mjequintin, quinoalhujcac españoles, amo ic motlacaoaltique in mexica, cenca quitototzaia in iaujutl.

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1520 icoac omjc in motecuçuma, auh in ichoantin españoles, oquizque tlaxcallan iaque: auh uej cocolizztli muchiuh in njcan mexico, çaçaoatiocac: ioan cenca mjequintin mjcque, in njcan tlaca.

In jpan xiujtl 1521, oc ceppa oallaque in españoles, ompa omotlalique, in tetzcoco, uecauhtica quinjauchiuhque, quimpeuhque, quimjcalque, in mexica.

In jpan xiujtl 1522, oc ceppa oalmonechicoque, oalmocentlalique in mexica: in moiaoaca in xitinca in jpampa iauiotl

Auh in jpan xiujtl 1524, icoac açico in matlactin vmomen ilcr francisco padreme, in quintlanelroquj-tique in njcan nueua españa tlaca.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

565
531
292

Eighth Chapter, in which are told the various articles with which they adorned the rulers and noblemen—which they placed on them when they were bedight in capes and breech clouts.

Injc chicuei capitulo, vncan mjtoa in jcqujtlamantli: in nechichioaia tlatoque in pipilti in jntech qujtlaliaia, injc mocencaoaia in tilmatli in maxtlatl.

The cape with the serpent mask design, bordered with eyes;[1] — Coaxaiacaio tilmatli, tenjxio,

The cape with the conch shell design, bordered with eyes;[2] — tecucizio tilmatli tenjxio,

The cape with a design of stone discs, bordered with eyes;[3] — temalacaio tilmatli tenjxio,

The cape with the obsidian serpent design, bordered with eyes;[4] — itzcoaio tilmatli tenjxio,

The cape with wine-god jar design, bordered with eyes;[5] — vmetochtecomaio tilmatli tenjxio,

The cape with the butterfly design, bordered with eyes; — papaloio tilmatli tenjxio,

The cape with an eagle's face painted on it, bordered with eyes;[6] — xaoalquauhio tilmatli tenjxio,

The red-bordered ocelot cape, in the middle of which stood an ocelot;[7] — ocelotentlapalli iitic icac oçelotl,

The cape of dark green diagonally divided, in the middle of which stood an obsidian eagle;[8] — chicoiapalli nacazmjnquj iitic icac itzquauhtli,

The cape of blue knots diagonally divided,[9] on which a spear-eagle stood; — xiuhtlalpilnacazmjnquj, tlacochquauhtli vncan icac,

The maguey fiber cape, with an ocelot tail pendant; — quetzalichtilmatli ocelocujtlapillo

The cape of shining maguey fiber [ornamented with] flattened heads; — quetzalichpetztli, quapatlacio tilmatli,

The orange cape with the wind jewel[10] [design] and the feathered border; — camopalecaconcaio, tenjujio tilmatli,

The orange cape with a striped border; — camopaltenoscanquj tilmatli,

The light blue cape with a wind jewel design, which had a border of feathers with spirals; — xpalecaconcaio tilmatli, iujtica tentlaiaculo,

The carmine-colored cape with an eye border; — nochpaltilmatli tenjxio,

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1. Fol. 56r of Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* defines the border with eyes or spots. Also see corresponding Spanish text.
2. Cf. James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), III, fol. 46.
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
4. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 31.
5. Cf. *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 69. An alternative translation might be "the colored eagle feather cape."
7. Cf. *Ibid.*, fol. 31. See also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 522.
8. Respectable use, however, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 181.
9. *Xiuhtlalpilli* might refer to a design suggested by the ceremony of tying the years.
10. See, however, corresponding Spanish text, in which *quetzalli* is described as a flower; see also Book VIII of the Codex, fol. 16v.

565 The tawny cape with a spiral border; quappachtentlaiacoalo tilmatli,
292 The coyote fur cape with a spiral border; coioichcatentlaiacoalo tilmatli,
531 The tawny, knotted cape; quappachtlalpilli tilmatli,
The cape with scorpion design stripes; colotlaxochio tilmatli,
The tawny cape with the water spider; quapachatocaio tilmatli,
The tawny cape with the butterfly; quappapaloio tilmatli,
The ocelot cape; ocelotilmatli,
The cape with the eagle's leg; quauhtetepoio tilmatli,
The cape with the ocelot skin step design;[11] ocelotlcalcoliuhquj tilmatli,
The ocelot cape; ocelotilmatli,
The half-ocelot, half-eagle cape; ocelquauhtlatlapanquj tilmatli,
The tawny cape provided with the design of an eye upon a hooked element;[12] quappachixcoliuhquj tilmatli,
The cape with the design of a ladder on the earth; tlallecacanzio, tilmatli,
The cape with an embroidered, radiating design; tlamachmoiaoac tilmatli,
The cape of duck feathers with a colored border; xomoiujtilmatli tentlapallo,
The cape of duck feathers with [a design of] flattened heads; xomoiujtilmatli quappatlacio,
The white duck feather cape, bordered with eyes; iztac xomoiujtilmatli tenjxio
The duck feather cape, with [a design of] young ears of maize; xomoiujtilmatli elotic
The wolf skin cape; cujtlaichujtilmatli,
The blue knotted [cape], bordered with eyes; xiuhtlalpilli tenjxio,
The cape with a sun [design], bordered with eyes; tonatiuhio tilmatli tenjxio,
The old cape with the eagle head design;[13] quauhtzonteconio tilmatli mamanquj,
The cape with the war symbol; teuatl tlachinoltilmatli,
The cape with the basket flower design;[14] oacalxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the young maize ear flower design;[15] eloxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the colored prince's flower design; tlapaltecuxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the dahlia design;[16] acucuxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the plumeria flower design;[17] cacaloxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the poinsettia design;[18] cuetlaxxuchio tilmatli,
The white duck feather cape, diagonally divided; iztac xomoiujtilmatli nacazmjnquj,
The white duck feather cape, with the face of a wolf; iztac xomoiujtilmatli cujtlachixio,

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11. *Ocelotzicalcoliuhqui* (*ocelotl*, *ztacalli*, *calcoliuhqui*—scaled, geared, twisted): geared vessel with curved decoration. The nature of weaving makes it a stepped design.

12. Cf. representation in *Primeros memoriales*, Cap. IV.

In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, *yppalcoxcoliuhqui tilmatli* follows *quappachixcoliuhqui tilmatli*.

13. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161 (*quauhtzonteconio*).

14. Prosser flower design, in Eduard Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Thompson, eds.: Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Part 3, p. 95 (*Anthurium sp.?*). Emily Walcott Emmart, in *Tar Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 234, calling it a basket flower, says it is a species of *xonthosoma*. Francisco de Hernandez, in *Decimocuarto general de anonymissimos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), II, p. 182, identifies the *huauhtzitzintli* (*-zitzintli*) as *Philodendron affine*, Humd.

15. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 96 (*Magnolia sp.?*). Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275, mentions another *elocuechtli* belonging to the *Compositae*.

Yollotzacatzintamalli, here listed in the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

16. In Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), I, p. 24, this is *Dahlia excelsa* Cav.; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *D. variabilis*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 305, *Dahlia sp.*

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 806, *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *P. rubra*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 308, *P. rubra* L. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 751, identifies the *cacaloxochitl* as *P. rubra* L., *P. lancifer* R. & P., and *P. acutifolia* Poir. Emily Walcott Merrifield, in *Mexican Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), pp. 23, 177, has *P. acuminata*, and refers to it as "frangipani" and "temple flower."

18. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 954, *Euphorbia (Poinsettia) pulcherrima* Willd; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *Poinsettia pulcherrima*.

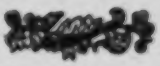
6;Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 The cape of colored feathers, with embroidery; tlapaliojtilmatli tlamachio,
292 The cape with the face of a wolf; cujtlachixio tilmatli,
531 The cape with the tips of eagle wings; quauhaxojtzcoio tilmatli,
The cape with a border of popcorn flowers; tenjzqujxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the ivy design;[19] quazonotilmatli,
The bed covering cape; vevej tilmatli pepechtli,
The mattress;[20] quachpepechtli,
The large cape used to keep oneself dry; vevej tilmatli neoatzalonj,
The breech clout with the ivy design embroidered at the ends;[21] quazonocatlamachio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the market place design; tianquijtio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the eagle's leg design; quauhtetepoio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the turquoise mosaic mirror design; xiubtecaio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the butterfly design at the ends;[22] acapapaloio maxtlatl,
The breech clout striped in many colors; centzonmaxtlatl tlatlatlapalpoalli,
The breech clout made of twenty pieces,[23] with the wind jewel design at the ends;[21] cempoalçotl acahecacozcaio,
The tawny colored breech clout with embroidered ends; quappachmaxtlatl acan tlamachio,
The carmine-colored breech clout with the ocelot head; nochpalmaxtlatl, ocelocuitecoio
The ocelot breech clout with a step design; oceloticalcoliuhquj maxtlatl,
The coyote fur [breech clout] with the eagle head;[19] quauhtzontecoio,
The breech clout with feathered discs at the ends; acaivjtemalacaio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with radiating embroidery at the ends. acatlamachmoiaoac maxtlatl.

19. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 257; IV, p. 257.
20. Vevej tilmatli pepechtli: *quachpepechtli*: cf. Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), Spanish-Nahuatl section—*cihuanchoa, cuichoa.*
21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 97, reads *panco* for *ano*.
22. Cf. Spanish text, fol. 16v.
23. The *Florentine Codex* omits *cempohuamaxtlatl* before *quachcuemitl*, found in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS.

[p. 26 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7



643 Ninth Chapter, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.

Injc chicuuuj capitulo vncan motemoa injn nechchioaia in tlatoque in jonac macoaia.

301 [237] The [head] band with [two] quetzal feathers[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

Quetzallalpilonj, coztic teocujtlaio injc qujlpiaia, intzon

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalpatzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzolteontlj tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio, iujcal ueuetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztli in qujmama mjtoia

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemocatl, coztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which [314] he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in coetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiubqui, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujclalia ujtzilonjtica injc tlachiubtli injc tlapetzolli

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtentetl coztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtototica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

[317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teucujtlatempilolli coztic

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

ototempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a bouting pole;

aujctempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencololli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Cf. Hernández, op. cit., II, p. 112, identifies quetzaltototl as *Pharomacrus mocinno* Swainson.
2. *Platalea ajaja* L. (Beltrán, op. cit., p. 134).
3. One ends to download more fully in Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 67.
4. Cf. Beltrán, op. cit., p. 102.
5. Quauhtotoltecatl: quauh cuitl cuexa tecoloa; elsewhere we always give preference to the remaining angle.
6. Aztec this phrase, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *chalchiuhcuauhtecuexcal coztic teucujtlatl yoallo*—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

643 301 [532] A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold;

spatlactempilolli, cozticteucujtlatl,

A green stone nose rod;

metztempilolli cozticteucujtlatl,

A fine turquoise nose rod;

chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together;

texxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[9]

chalchiuhtlacoconcatl ololiuhquj, tlacemquixtilli, tlacacol,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold;

cozticteucujtlachaiaoac concatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,

[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg;

quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan cozticteucujtlaio,

A quetzal feather banner held in the hand;

cozticteucujtlacotzcoatl,

A quetzal bird as headdress;

quetzalmacpanjtl,

Quetzal feather horns;

quetzalitotoicpacxuchitl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold;

quetzalquaquaujtl,

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension;

quetzalecacoaxtli cozticteucujtlaio xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells;

cozticteucujtlachipulconcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells;

teucujtlacozticacuechconcatl,

643 [276 416] Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced.

xuchitl, ietl, ineiscaujl tlatoanj, tecatl injc nozta tlatoanj, injc mochichioa amanteca inpial, in isquich imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

[292 281] Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals.

oçeloenecactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[534] 533 [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells;

teponaztli, teponaztlatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli cozticteucujtlatl, tetzilacatl cozticteucujtlatl,

Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant.

cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent.

tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in isquich omjo. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacozcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl cozticteucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance.

xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, ineixca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded.

tezcatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 542; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1096, on etymology of *nanamacac*.

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves, precious capes, valuable breech cloths, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There were to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Injc matlactli capítulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellelqujxtiaia tlatoque. 643

In jcoac qujça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jtechiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in qujtlapeujltiuj: iiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel ixpan qujça, aiac vel acopa qujtta, aiac uel qujxnepanoa, [48] 643 644

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcacheooa, qujtlatlaquechilia, qujçaçanjlhuja, [521]

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, qujtlanjtoa in jxqujch tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teocujtlacoccatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, cotzchoutl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, inoca tlachtli: [525 526] [301 576 314]

nococampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl manca, in aquja ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan qujcalaquja olli: njman ic qujtlanj in jxqujch tlaçotli tlatquitl, auh mochintin qujntlanj, in jxqujchtin tetlatlaztaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli, maieoatl, nelpilooj, queçoatl. 345 526

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli injc motlanj immatica in qujchaioa in nauhtetl etl, qujcujloa ce petlatl, tlilrica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoaltetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentetl imaxca intlapoalrnah icecemme in jxnamjquj in motlanj in patoa, qujtlanjlio in inepajch tlaçotli, centic tencujtlacoccatl, chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetatli ipan ca chalchiujtl 524 524 525

1. Hipatli: the corresponding Spanish has dieces (dissolt). See also below, description of patolli.

524 won* all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a [787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green
[301 stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about
643] his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
[732] were their servants, their pages who attended them and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks,
[231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

ololiuhquj anoço teuiuitl, quetzalli, tlacotli, calli, mjlli, tlaçotlmatli, pepechtli, venej tilmatli: chalchiuhtentetl, teucujtlanacochtli, xonoiujtilmatli. Auh in aquja patoanj, in qujchaiaoa in etl, intla centetl etl ic tetzuechili, in moquetztiuaz etl, in vmpa ic tzinmjmjltic: cenca tetzammachoia, cenca tlamaujçolli ipan mottaia: njman muchi qujtlanj, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in motlanjtoa in macanel aiamo açi in quezqujtetl aqujlli, injc netemnoncuzalo, injc netzopalo.

Tlatlamjna tlaujxoltica, tipontica, totomjtica, tlacochtica: itlaujcallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiuitl, ololiuhquj, anoço teuiuitl in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia tlatoanj.

Tlatlacaleuzuja, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhuaztli, iujgallo telolomatlatl mjmjltic injc mopetlaoa telolotli, ic qujmotla tepitoton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca totomatlatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan totome,

mouochimjltia, mouochitepantia, caquja, in jxqujch nepapan xochitl,

vncatca intetlaveuetzquiticahoan in quimellelquixtiaia, in quicecemelkia: ioan quaujlacatzoque in quipaquiltia mjiec tlamantli in jntlachioal teuetzquiti, ioan mauiztic, in jca itocpal tlanjpa injc tlâmati çe tlacatl, tomaoac in quammjmjlli in quitotia ica itocpal aquetztoc acopa in conmaiauj quammjmjlli ça ieoaxi in itocpal ic tlamati,

mjiec tlamâtli, in tececemelki in quichioa, vncatca imaachoan, ixoloan in quimuicatinenca in quimochellelquixtiaia, tzapaime, villaime, tepotzome, tzachme, quinpiaia quaquauhti, oçelome, cuicuitlachtin, ococtochtin, nepapan tototi.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS reads *quiltonoloa* (he wagered) instead of *quitonoloa*.

643
352
281

Eleventh Chapter. Here it is told what the rulers rested upon.

The ocelot skin seat with a back rest; the mountain lion skin seat with a back rest; the wolf skin seat with a back rest; the mountain cat skin seat with a back rest; the cured leather seat with a back rest; the ocelot skin seat, the mountain lion skin seat, the wolf skin seat, the cured leather seat, the mountain cat[1] skin seat, the coyote skin seat.

The ocelot skin mat,[2] the mountain lion skin mat, the mountain cat skin mat, the coyote skin mat, the hammock, smooth reed mats[3] elaborately painted with designs; seats with backs, painted with designs; low seats painted with designs.

Injc matlactli oçe capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in jpan motlaliaia tlatoque.

Oçelocoatepotzcicpalli, mjçcoatepotzcicpalli, cujtlacheoatepotzcicpalli, ocotocheoatepotzcicpalli, cuetlaxtepotzcicpalli, oçeloeoaicpalli, mjçcoaicpalli, cujtlacheoaicpalli, cuetlaxicpalli, ocotocheoaicpalli, coioeoaicpalli,

oçeloeoapepechtli, mjçcoapepechtli, ocotocheoapepechtli, coioeoapepechtli, cochizmatlatl alaoacapetlatl, tlatlacujlolli, tepotzcicpalli tlacujlolli, tzinjcpalli tlacujlolli.

1. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 153.
2. *Petlpalli*: cf. corresponding Spanish text.
3. *Ahuacapetlatl*: corresponding Spanish text—"esteras pintadas unas pintadas y unas anchuras."

[p. 32 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

643
714 **Twelfth Chapter**, in which it is told how the rulers were arrayed whom they sent to the wars.

Inic matlactiomome capitvlo, tocan mjtoa: inic mochichioaia in tlatoque, in qujtitlanja inapan.

The costly red spoonbill headdress set off with gold, having very many quetzal feathers flaring [from it], and with it, borne upon his back, the skin drum upon a carrying frame, and decorated with gold.

[237]

Tlauhquecholxnamã tlaqotlanqui cuitic teucujtlaio: cenca mjiec in quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio: injcal in tlamamalli, vejcel in coloçli tlachiuhtli, cuitic teucujtlaio:

And they dressed him in a red shirt, made of red spoonbill feathers [decorated with] flint knives[1] [fashioned of] gold; and his *xapoc* leaf skirt was made all of quetzal feathers.

auh in ichcatl cenmaquja tlatiuhqui, tlauhquecholiujtl injc tlachiuhtli: cuitic teucujtlal in jetzcpaio, auh in jtzapocue mochiuhtoc çan moch quetzalli.

The shield was ringed with thin gold, and its pendants were made of precious feathers.[2]

Chimalli, cuitic teucujtlal, in tlatzotzonoli inamaoaio, tlaqoiujtl in jtzcuitlapilollo mochiuhtoc,

[He had] a green stone necklace of round, large, green stone and fine turquoise combined.

chalchiuhcoxcal, tlacoxqujxtilli in ololiuhqui, in veuej, chalchiujtl, iuan teuxiujtl

The ruler placed upon his head a blue cotinga feather headdress which was set off with gold, and had quetzal feathers flaring [from it]. Over the upper part of his body he put a shirt of blue cotinga feathers.

[237]

xiuhtotozcontli, cuitic teucujtlaio, quetzalli in jcuecuetlacacaio, in jtzontecon conmaquja tlatoxnj: auh in jtlac conaquja xiuhtotoxcatl,

And as a burden for his back [he had] a blue skin drum fashioned on a frame, and [ornamented] with gold.[3]

auh in tlamamalli xoxouhqui vejcel ic ololiuhtli tlachiuhtli cuitic teucujtlaio

All quetzal feathers was its *xapoc* skirt; and its pendants were all costly feathers. And the [ornaments of] flint knives, for its covering of blue cotinga feathers, were of thin gold [plate].

çan moch quetzalli in jtzapocue, mochi tlaqoiujtl in jtlapilollo, cuitic teucujtlal in tlacamamalli in jtetecpaio, in xiuhtotoxcatl,

The ocelot Xipe was made of ocelot skin; its flint knife [decoration] was made of gold.

ocelotexc, oçcloxcatl injc tlachiuhtli, cuitic teucujtlal injc tlachiuhtli in jtetecpaio,

Its *xapoc* leaf skirt was all of quetzal feathers.

çe moch quetzalli in jtzapocue,

The ocelot drum, the burden on his back, was of gold [decorated] with [wavy lines called] hawk scratches.

[531]

oçcloxcuecxtl in tlamamalli cuitic teucujtlal injc tlotlonjtequj.

The shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

Chimalli xiuhtotoxca tzacuj, cuitic teucujtlal ic itzacpo,

1. *Tecuçiçi*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to *espaz de oro* whose root translation was "flint knives." The shape of the *espa* is similar to that of a knife. Cf. also Simeon, *op. cit.*, and Seler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 394, where *Steinmesser* is used consistently.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS follows *enchalchiuhtes* with *ye ixuchi quetzalli ye iuxochapolli tenchalchiuhtes*—"now opened feathers, to which small grasshoppers [of gold] are added at the point."

3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"Y colgauan deste plumaje, hasta los copetes, en derecho proporcionado, pauon en esta sazon, como para llouer cargo."* This passage Seler (*op. cit.*, II, p. 394) translates as "Daran wird auf den Rücken eine Trommel getragen, aus Holz, Gestell hergestellt, der mit Gold überzogen ist."

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

643
714
531

The quetzal feather butterfly was the burden for the back; with it belonged the yellow parrot feather shirt, [decorated] with hawk scratches in gold.

The shield with a golden disc had a golden butterfly in the middle. [There was] a quetzal feather claw,* with gold. The shirt [which belonged to this] was of yellow parrot feathers.

The golden hood had horns of quetzal feathers; its shirt was of yellow parrot feathers.

The silver hood had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch [decorations] in gold.

[There were] the quetzal feather banner of the spear house; the silver banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top; and the golden banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top.

The finely wrought obsidian butterfly was of quetzal feathers and gold; its teeth and claws were all of precious feathers; and it had quetzal feather horns.

The finely wrought butterfly of [the goddess] Xochiquetzal [was made of] precious feathers; and its horns were of gold and quetzal feathers.

[There was] a quetzal feather crest-like device. With it belonged a blue cotinga-feather shirt; the shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

The Xolotl head of yellow parrot feathers, with balls of quetzal feathers, was ornamented with gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch decorations in gold.

The blue Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a blue shirt.

The white Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a white shirt.

The bright red Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold; its shirt was likewise bright red.

The headdress of trupial feathers was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers.

The yellow demon of the air was made all of gold, and had quetzal feathers and balls of quetzal feathers.

The blue demon of the air had quetzal feathers, was made all of gold, and had balls of quetzal feathers.

quetzalpapalotl in tlamamalli, mamjc toçeuxtl, cuxtic teucujtlatl injc tlotloujtecquj.

Chimalli teocujtlatica itixapo, teucujtlapapalotl ijtic manj quetzalxopilli, cuxtic teucujtlaio, toçeuxtl in jeouio.

Cuxtic teucujtlaquacalalatli, iquetzalquaquauh, jeouio cuxtic toçeuxtl.

Iztac teucujtlaquacalalatli, quetzaltecomaio: inamjc tuçeuxtl cuxtic teucujtlatl ic tlotloujtecquj

quetzalpanjtl tlacochcalcaiotl. Iztac teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio. Cuxtic teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio.

Itzpapalotl tlaçotlanquj quetzallo, cuxtic teucujtlaio, in jtlan, in jizzi muchi tlaçoiujtl: iquetzalquaquauh.

Xochiquetzalpapalotl, tlaçotlanquj in tlaçoiujtica: ioan cuxtic teucujtlaio, iquetzalquaquauh

quetzalpatzactli, xiuhtzoxoxtl iujcallo in chimalli xiuhtzotica tzacquj, cuxtic teucujtlatl ic itixapo,

tonquaxolotl iquetzaltemal, cuxtic teucujtlaio, toçeuxtl inamjc, cuxtic teucujtlatl injc motlotloujtec,

xoxouhquj quaxolotl, quetzallo cuxtic teucujtlaio in jnamjc xoxouhquj cuxtl.

Iztac quaxolotl, quetzallo, cuxtic teucujtlaio in jnamjc iztac cuxtl.

Chichiltic quaxolotl, quetzallo, cuxtic teucujtlaio, in jeouio, çan no chichiltic.

Çaquantzontli, quetzallo, cuxtic teucujtlaio toçeuxtl inamjc,

tuxtzitzimjtl: muchi cuxtic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, quetzallo, iquetzaltemal.

Xoxouhquj tzitzimjtl, quetzallo, muchi cuxtic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, iquetzaltemal.

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4. Cf. discussion in Seler, op. cit., II, pp. 1102f., as well as corresponding Spanish text—"a manera de chapa, y no sabe la orilla cosa ninguna, de plumas ricas, y esto era."

The white demon of the air was of gold, and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huaxtec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huaxtec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huaxtec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples went plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac tzitzimjtl, coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzaltemal. 643 714

Coztic cuextecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, ixquateucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in ecatl, toçecatl motlotloujtec, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal. 531

Iztac cuextecatl iamaçal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, ixquateucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl.

Chictlapanquj cuextecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic in ecatl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanquj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, ixquateucujtlaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coztic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli tecujiztli, ioan qujqujztli in mopitza iauc inje çemeoa iauqujxque, inje mjcali: in quachpanjtl, coztic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in tecujtia in iauc, in omottac ie meoatiquetza in jzquj quechpanjtl. Niman çemeoa in iauqujxque, inje mjcali, 534 727

quetzaltonatiuh, coztic teucujtlatl in tonatiuh ijtic mantiuh in quetzalli iaoaltic. Xiloxochipatzactli, quetzalli in jiaoaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jtecpaio, in jcanaoscân mamantiuh: coztic teucujtlatl in tlacomaltectli. Maquaujtl iztzo in jtenco tlatectli, quetzalaztaxontli, teucujtlaio, quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiac quetzalli, oçelotlachicomjtl, in jpoçonca quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiac in quetzalli. 643 714 [441]

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6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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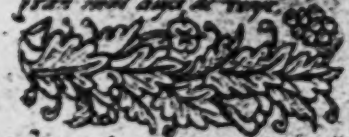
ILLUSTRATIONS

[p. 36(A)]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590)1954
NU7 Aztec NU7



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Page from *Florentine Codex* (Chapter 6)

[p. 36(b)]

175
532
643
292

[87]

[77]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Huitzilihuitl. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tizoc. 8. Ahuitzotl. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Quauhtemoc. 13. Don Andrés Motelchiuh. 14. Don Pablo Xochiquen. 15. Don Diego Ustoil. 16. Don Diego Tzontequiu. 17. Don Cristóbal Cuenpanic. (Chapter 1.)

18, 11. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1).

Rulers of Tlatelolco. 18. Quauhpopoca. 19. Tlacotzol. 20. Quauhtlahuac. 21. Moquihuix. 22. Don Pablo Tezozo. 23. Don Martín Ecatl. 24. Don Juan Axoltzin. 25. Don Martín Tlacotzol. 26. Don Diego Uitzmanahuatzin. 27. Don Alonso Quauhquauhtli. (Chapter 2.)

[p. 36(c)]

613
175
532
292
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[767]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

Rulers of Tenoch. 29. Tlilcuatzin. 29. Tochtolatzin. 30. Ixtlilxochitl. 31. Nauhyotzontzin. 32. Nauhyotzin. 34. Cuauhtlatoa. 35. Cuauhtlatoa. 36. Tezozomoc. 37. Ixtlilxochitl. 38. Yopontzin. 39. Tetlauaztzin. 40. Don Antonio Valeriano. 41. Don Hernando Pimentel. (Chapter 3.)

33. Omens observed in Tenoch (Chapter 3).

Rulers of Uexotla. 42. Maquitzin xcuitl. 43. Tochin xcuitl. 44. Axoxiuh xcuitl. 45. Quetzalxoc xcuitl. 46. Tzompachtzin. 47. Ipuztic xcuitl. 48. Xihuitzin xcuitl. 49. Ixtlamatzin. 50. Tlaquiyauitzin. 51. Tecuanxoxotzin. 52. Cuetlaxoxotzin. 53. Izquixochtzin. 54. Cuitlauacatzin. (Chapter 4.)

55. Tlilan (Chapter 5).

Omens observed in Tenochtitlan. 56. Burning temple. 57. Comet. 58. Inundation. 59. Cloud-serpent. 60. Bird with mirror on its head. (Chapter 6.)

[p. 36(E)]
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6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Astec NU7

—After Paso y Troncoso

Omaxtle (concluded). 61. Two-headed turn (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of parcheesi (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlacxitlan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhtitlan (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tenochtitlan (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Army and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

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6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

532

[291
302]

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[283
286]

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411]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

72-74. Women's [illegible] (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war army (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

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6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

—Alonso Pano y Trevarro

29. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 30. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 31. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 32-34. Indigo (Chapter 17). 35. A maid (Chapter 17).

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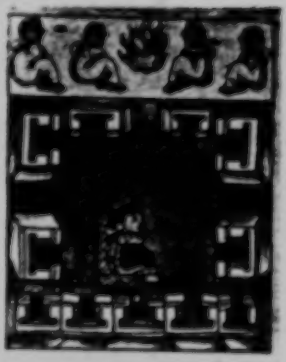

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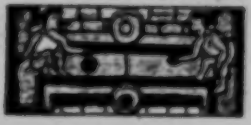

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—After Peñafiel y Troncoso

...91. The game ...(Chapter 17). 92. Gifts of the ruler to the poor (Chapter 17).

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6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

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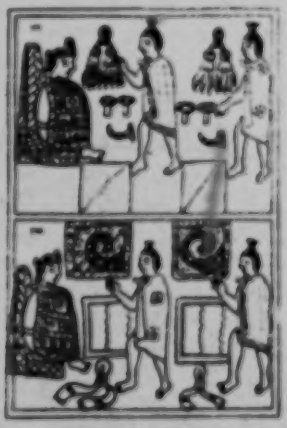

—After Pina y Troncoso

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6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

545
262

Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the foods which the birds eat.[1]

Hot, white, doubled tortillas;[2] large tortillas; large, thick, coarse tortillas; folded tortillas[3] of maize treated with lime, pleasing [to the taste]; tortillas formed in rolls; leaf-shaped tortillas;

White tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top;[4] white tamales with maize grains thrown in;[5] hard, white tamales with grains of maize thrown in; red tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales made of a dough of maize softened in lime, with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales of maize softened in wood ashes; turkey pasty cooked in a pot, or sprinkled with seeds; tamales of meat cooked with maize and yellow chili; roast turkey hen; roast quail.

Market food: white tortillas with a flour of uncooked beans; turkey with a sauce of small chilis, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; turkey with red chilis; turkey with yellow chilis; turkey with green chilis; venison sprinkled with seeds; hare with sauce; rabbit with sauce; meat stewed with maize, red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; venison with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; birds with toasted maize; small birds; dried duck; duck stewed in a pot; the *atzinicuilotl* bird stewed in a pot; roast of meat; fried meat in a sauce of red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; pottage of yellow chili; sauces of ordinary tomatoes and small tomatoes and yellow chili, or of tomatoes and green chili; diluted [sauces] with tomatoes; white fish with yellow chili; grey fish with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; frog with green chilis; newt with yellow chili; tadpoles with small chilis; small fish with small chilis; winged ants with savory

In nuchcutli vmej cujcuitla: vncan mjtoa, in jxtlqual in qujqujxia, in tlaxopa.

Intzc xoxouqui tlaxcalli, tlaxcalpacholli, vei tlaxcalli quauhtlapalli, tlaxcalpacholli intzc, nexiopapaio, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacxpoalli tlaxcalli,

quauecujcujlli tamalli, intzc tlatzinecujtl, intzc tetamalli tlatzinecujtl, chichiltic quauecujcujlli tamalli, nexiotamalli quauecujcujlli, tamalatl quauhcuetli, xoxouhcacapujmjlli xoco tlapaxuetli, anoço tlacuetli, nacatlaxio tamalli chilconio: cihuatetoli tlatlauhtzalli, golin tlatlaoztzalli,

tiaxquixtlapualli, intzc tlaxcalli etica tlaxio, tzoolin patzcalmolli, chiltecpio, tzoolio, chilconio tzoolio, chilchoio tzoolio, maçanacatl tlatemtli, cirli molli, tochtli molli, nacatlolli patzcallo, maçanacatl patzcallo, uexinquixl tepiscon tzoouac, canauhtlaoztzalli, canauhtlapaoztli, atzinicuilotlapaoztli, nacatlacxtli, tlaxxoxonjlli nacanolli patzcallo, chilcuetlaxjlli, chiltecpinnolli xitomaio, chilcoznolli xitomaio, chilchomolli xitomaio, tlamamollalli xitomaio, intzc xnxiloi chilconio, tomaoac xoxjli, patzcallo, cujxtl chilchoio, axolotl chilconio, atepocatl chiltecpio, mjchpili chiltecpijo, tzicatzanolli ixamjc papaloquilitl, chapolin chichiaca, nenecujli chiltecpinnollo, chacali patzcallo, tapoolinjchi patzcallo, tlacamjchin patzcallo, maçanocnolli intzc mjchio

1. Sahagún's Spanish translations varies somewhat from dictionary and other definitions of the foods named in the Aztec text. In the notes, our translations favour Sahagún's; footnotes cite synonyms of the more noticeable variations.

2. *Tlaxcalpacholli, tlaxcalpacholli* hot, white tortillas, doubled, arranged in a large basket, according to the corresponding Spanish text. In Molina, *op. cit.*, the word means "*cosa doblada, o plegada.*"—If the text of *quauhtli* is perfect, the term could indicate that the tortillas were crescent, or eagle, in the way they were folded; but the clue seems lost, like other texts.

3. In Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 307, Dr. Ignacio Alcazar translates *quauecujcujlli* tamali *quauecujcuiloni tamali*, as *Tamales de cazuela cuadrada y mala superficie frontal*. Alfonso Villaseñor, in *Historia de Mexico* (in Tamayo-Compañero, Porrúa: P. Juan, 1953), I, p. 369, has this explanation: "*los otros llamados quauecujcuiloni tamalli, hueuy tlacolli* [Sahagún *tlacxolli*], *tlacxol-quauhtlli, grande gallarete de fondo de lisa o de fondo de vaso que usan hacer pedazos d'Quauhtzin, usual que usan copian d'Culhuacan o de gallos.*"

4. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

565
262

herbs;[5] locum with chia; maguey grubs with a sauce of small chilis; lobster with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; urchins[6] with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; large fish with the same; a sauce of unripened plums with white fish;

Red, rough sapotes;[7] red plums; yellow or vermillion plums; ashen sapotes;[8] small sapotes;[9] manioc;[10] sweet potato; avocado; yellow sapotes;[11] tuna cactus fruit of many hues—white, yellow, bright red, green, orange; anonas;[12] *guanábanas;*[13] American cherries; tender maize;[14] green maize; string beans;

tlatlauhqui tezontzapotl izochiqual maçanocotl chichiltic, coztic, tlaxcalcoltic, chciouzapotl, xicotzapotl, quauhcamotli, camotli, aoacatl, atzitzapotl, nochtli, tlatlatlapalpoalli, iztac, coztic, chichiltic, zoxoctic, camopaltic, matzatli, quammochil, capoli, xilotl, elotl, cxotl,

Tamales made of maize flowers with ground amaranth seed and cherries added; tortillas of green maize or of tender maize; tamales stuffed with amaranth greens;[15] tortillas made with honey, or with tuna cactus fruit; tamales made with honey; tortillas shaped like hip guards; tamales made of amaranth seed dough; [cakes made of] amaranth seed dough; rabbit with toasted maize; squash cut in pieces; *olchicalli;* green maize cooked in a pot and dried; amaranth greens cooked with dry land chili; sauce of purslain with dry land chili; green amaranth seeds with dry land chili;

mijaostamalli tlaixnamjctilli ouhtli ioan capoli, elotlaxcalli, anoço zantlaxcalli, xilotlaxcalli, ouhqujltamalli, necutlaxcalli, nochtlaxcalli, necutamalli, queçeoatlaxcalli, tzoallaxcalli, tzoalli, tochiaqujtl, aiotlatlapanalli, olchicalli, elotl tlapaoaxtli tlaoatzalli, ouhqujlmolli tonalchillo, itzmjqujlmolli, tonalchillo, ouhtzontli tonalchillo,

Water greens; onions;[16] the evil-smelling herb; the *ehoquilitz* herb;[17] the *mexixe* herb;[18] rabbit-ear greens; *acbachoquilitl;*[19] thistle; sow thistle; sorrel of various kinds; a water-edge plant called *acuitlacpalli;* squash flowers; tender, young squash; small squash; garden cress; *cuphaeas;* small tuna cactus fruit with fish eggs;

tzaiaualqujlitl, xonacatl, hijacaqujlitl, eloqujlitl, moçoqujlitl, nacaztochqujlitl, achochoqujlitl, ujtzqujlitl, chichicaquilitl, iztac xoxocoioli, xoxocoioloujujlan, axoxoco acujtlacpalli, aiotzochqujlitl, aionanacatl, aiciacaqujlitl, aiotepitoton, mexixqujlitl, popoiauhqujlitl, nopalitepitoton mjchtcuhio,

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5. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 740, this is *Peroptychium marrubiastrum* DC.

6. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 194) says of *tequili*: "*son pardillos erizos en los mantenidos, son buenos de comer y sabrosos.*"

7. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 274; *Lucuma mammosa* Gaertn. Cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 314—"*mamey o zapotecomate que es el verdadero mamey.*" Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 225) describes the *mamey[ol]* as "*de hechura y grandor del corazón de ciervo; tiene la corteza áspera y roja, son colorados por de dentro, son muy dulces y muy buenos de comer, y tienen las cortezas negras muy lindas y relucientes.*" Cf. *tapoxtli* in Molina, *op. cit.*: "*hanse zapote colorado cosa.*"

8. "*Son los cenizos*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 225); also corresponding Spanish text.

9. "*Llamanlos los españoles, y portugueses* [*wild or choke pear tree*]. *Son muy dulces; hácense en tierra caliente*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 273, this is *Achras zapota* L.

10. *Ibid.*, II, p. 525: *Manihot aipendora* Crantz; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335: *guacamotli* or *camote*. *Manihot utilissima* Pohl; in *ibid.*, p. 227, "*las raíces de estas árboles cuécense y hácense cosa buenas, y son de buen sumo.*"

11. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 267 (*amapuf*): *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224: "*son amarillos de dentro y de fuera: son muy dulces, tienen a manera de yema de huevo cocido, tienen cuescos de color castaño oscuro.*"

12. *Annona squamosa, guanaba cimarrilla*, in Sessé, *op. cit.*; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 288; *Annona muricata*, Schult.; *Annona cherimola*.

13. Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 799; *Pithecellobium dulce* (Roxb.) Benth.; cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 52 (*Guamúchil*).

14. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.* Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 349; "*Jilote: Cobolillos de la mazorca de maíz tierno.*"

15. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, I, p. 12; II, p. 154; cap. *ibid.*, I, p. 12, n. 46 (*tamalquilli*).

See also Jonathan D. Sauer: "The Grain Amaranths: A Survey of Their History and Classification," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, 37: 561-632 (Nov., 1950), where it is suggested that *xonchili* may refer to either the cherimoya or soursop (p. 564).

16. *Allium* sp., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

17. *Rubbia pinna* L.—cf. *ire nalqui* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338). See also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 337.

18. *Mexixe* in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 330. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338, has "*Yerba del Ángel. Esparcimiento delgadísimo. Jarp. Compuesta*"; *quauhtlaquilitl* is the same.

19. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 563; *Rubus chrysanthemifolius* Michx.; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 338: *Rubus ursinus* D. C.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[19] with a maize gruel made with amoras; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[20] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[21] white maize gruel with chía,[20] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[22]

Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[23]

tzçaxmolli, tzonequj atolli, mjec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcoxic, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl izamjc chicuatolli, ouhatolli inquje, ..ajchiouatolli necuio, iztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chianatolli chilcotpanj, chiampitzaoac a-lli, aiohouchpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj

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in jxqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, calquixa tlatoanj.

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Auh in momoztlac, ice tlacatl calpixtequj quitequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totoquj tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmimjlli: ioan cenca mjec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman iee in jxqujch necutic xochiqualli.

[644]
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Auh in jquac in otlaqua tlatoanj, njman ic motexeloa, in jxqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jxqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatlalti, in moiautitlâque, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quexqujtlamantli, ixoioa, iiahachhoan, tetlaucuetzqujxique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapixque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

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[645]
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Niman moteca in jcalitic: iexuj in jcacaoauh, xouhquj cacaoçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, xouhquj tlilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vixtzocuicacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, iztac cacaoatl

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19. *Ibid.*, p. 237; small tomatoes: Simeón, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 699: "las cuales llaman miltomates, es decir, de tomates."
21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "Chile verde: Xalchilli *gayl*" Buenaventura, *op. cit.*, III, p. 686: *Solanum polymorphum* Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 310: *Solanis diagonalis* Linn.
22. Buenaventura, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496: *Capsicum microcarpum* DC.—"De Mejico, chile redfgrum, crece del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante." In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 438, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., *op. laxiusculum* L.: "del tamaño de las cerezas, a las que parece tomar en la magnitud y en el color."
23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "Yellow Axpiaxtic L. *Achiote*"; Buenaventura, *op. cit.*, I, p. 486: *Bixa orlana, S. Axpiaxtic* L.
24. The Spanish omit his brothers, which would require mention.
25. Yllan and *tzoncuc* are as they appear in the Codex; *chilli* and *tzoncuc* are probably meant.

643 264 272 415 The chocolate was served in a painted gourd vessel, with a stopper also painted with a design, and [having] a beater; or in a painted gourd, smoky [in color], from neighboring lands, with a gourd stopper, and a jar rest of ocelot skin or of cured leather. In a small net were kept the earthen jars, the strainer with which was purified the chocolate, a large, earthen jar for making the chocolate, a large painted gourd vessel in which the hands were washed, richly designed drinking vessels; [there were] large food baskets, sauce dishes, polished dishes, and wooden dishes.

inje: tlotectia cacauatl, tecontlacujlolli, atzaccuiatl tlacujlolli, aquaujtl uitectli tlacujlolli, pocteconatl anaocuiotl, atzaccuiatl uitectli, uiualli ocelouatl, cuetlaxtzaiocalli, chitatli in vncan mopia tecomatl, atzetzelouatli, inje motectia cacauatl, vevei tecomatl achiualoni, vevej tlacujlolxicalli inje ,nematerqujlo, tzotzocalli tlaxcaloni, tlapalchiqujuitl, molcaxitl, petacxitl, quauhcaxitl.

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca tlatoanj, inquich tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan motentequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe iuuiotl: ioan vncan achtopa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenquixtia tlatoanj. 690

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or smite him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be thrown [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncā tlatoloia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauija, in aquiquc tlatlacoa, vncan quixtlacuxtequjlaia. 692

Tlacxitlan, vncan cenca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecutlatoque: in jxquich tlamantli in jnteuilhujl cujtlapilli atlapalli maçoualli: vnca quicaqujlaia, vncan quixtlacuxtequjlaia; ioan inquich tlamantli mjquiztli vncan quimontequja aço aca quimecanjquc, anoço aca quixtetpachoaque, anoço aca quauhtica mjquja quiquixtequjaque, anoço aca pilli, anoço tecutlato, ximalotz, totocas, callalilcu, macoxalcuepalo, anoço aca ilpilco quauhcalco tlalilco: ioan vncan quixtlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oniquitl in tuiaualec, in pipilti mjiequjxtin, in quinaamacaque in jnteipuchcan, ioan in jnjchpuchcan, in jcoac in oquicac motecuçuma: tlanauti injc nechicoloaque, in jxquichtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzalcaque in jntecujioloan, injc macoque, injc cuepililoque in jntlaqoj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc quimpatiotica pipilti, inā oppamjxtlapan injc quixtlaxtlaujli, injc quixtlatlacollaz pipilti. 731 567 643

Thus in Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in netilhujlli, çan njman icuiloa motentequja, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, pp. 23-25: "Este nombre, tlatoāni, quiere decir, governante o señorón. . . . Y los componentes de tlatoāni que se componen con nombres numerales, significan governante como de, como diciendo en tlatoāni, uno governante hombre, o señor." Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: Glaubenswelt der alt-mexikanischen Völker in Paradies, Himmel und Hoelle, wie diese Jenseitsorte Unsere Vorvordern sich Dachten (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1937), p. 32.
2. Cook, op. cit., I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, translating "those placed below, or the low."
3. See Pl. 68.
4. See Pls. 67, 69.

692 nounced. And in what was there made known, the
695 lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted nothing as reward; nor delayed [any case].

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.

[693] Teccalli,[5] or Teccalco: there were the judges and noblemen.[6] Every day the common folk and vassals laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently
[212] they heard the plaints of the vassals; in the picture writing which recorded the case, they studied the complaints. And when they tested their truth, they sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what had been stolen and what was charged.

687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, he learned many ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicnotlamachti, Tlacochcalcatl, Itzlaca mixcoatlailotlac, Umaca, Toquai. Uictlolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—that they had unjustly discharged their office of judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

692 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
565 place of discussion where were the brave warriors
684 and the noblemen.

Tecpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were established the noblemen, the brave warriors,[7] the valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew something ill of some nobleman—although he were a great prince,[8] or brave warrior—if he had committed adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned before the people, to die stoned.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, one who was a prince, named Uitznauatl ecamalitzt, committed

INJC VME PARRAPHO, itechpa tlatoa in audiencia in tlatoloian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlac.que.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catca in tecutlaroque, in tetecuti, in momuztlac imixpan moteilhujaia, cujtlapalli atlapalli maceoalli, iujian iocuaca, in quicaquija in jnneteilhuil maceoalli: tlapallacujlolpan in quipoaia, in quittaia neteilhujlli: auh injc quinnelttiliaia, quintemoaia, quimjtlanja in machiceque, in tlanelttilanj, in quimachilia moteilhujque, in tlein quimocuicujlia, in tlein ipan moteilhuja.

Auh in tlatoanj, inrla itla quinmachili in ichcauntin tecutlaroque, aço çã tlzpic qujuecaoa, in jneteilhuil cujtlapilli, atlapalli, aço ie uetiujtl, anoço ie nauhxiujtl quinemjtia in amo uel quitzontetcuj, aço çan ipampa tlatlaujlli, anoço hoxiolcaiotl: njman quimjlpia, quauhcalco quintlalia, quitzacutiuj, quimjctia, injc mauhca ieaque tecutlaroque.

Tlatqui motecuçuma, mjtec tlamantli in quinmachili tecutlaroque mjxcoatlailotlac teicnotlamachti, tlacochcalcatl, itzlaca mjxcoatlailotlac vmaca, toquai, victlolinqui, tlatilulco in amo melaoac quichioua in jntequjuh tecutlarolli: njman quimjlpi, quauhcalco quintlali, quitzacutiaque, quinmjcti.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: vncan tajtoa in tlatoloian, in vncan catca in tiacaoan, ioan in papilti.

Tecpilcalli, vncan catca, vncan tecpanoaia in pipilti, tiacahoan oquichti, in iauc matinj, in tlaroanj intla aca itla quimachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaçopilli tiacauh intla otetlaxin, njman quitlatecontequjlia, injc teixpan tetepacholo tetica mjquj

motecuçuma tlatocati, ce tlacatl tlaçopilli itoca vitznauatl ecamalacoc[tetlaxi in oconteixpanuique in-

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5. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "another hall"—"otra sala."

6. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), I, p. 387, explains that "En cada barrio de México había un recaudi, cierto consejomayor por los vecinos, determinados de cuatro en cuatro, donde cuentan diariamente á los jueces superiores." Clark, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 97) writes: "The four named figures behind the judges, called *tecuhtli*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that in time they might rise to the position of judge." (See also fl. 67r and title of the Mendoza Codex.)

7. *Tecuuh, pilli, tecpilli*: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 36; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.

8. *Tlaçopilli*: cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

-42-

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhcozcheli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair; and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the five priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled pan motecuçoma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc 692 565 684
teixpan tetpacholoc.

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequjuacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacauan 701
tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcauil iautequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiaca- 696
hoan in jtemjcticatoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonequjxtiaia in tequjn tlein ipan omoczontec, quauhcozcheli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla quiiacoaia, quixtacutiuja mjquja.

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuch- 561
tlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein [524]
tequjtl, auh in momuztlac, in jquac ie calaquj tona-
tiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, 535
injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech [591]
in onactiuja, iuhquin matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaxtaxel
conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilic-
patl: ioan tzinhuacoch, ioan intempilol epteli, ixquich
in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tla- [501]
quauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlena-
macaque tlamacanque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo
ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in
neujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan
pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlac in
oc iehoan quiça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. [342]

[513]

And when the ruler knew something ill of them— 561
either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they tlaoaalistli, anoço nemocatilistli, anoço itla icampa 681
wrought something to their advantage behind the quiquixtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla quitete-
back of the ruler; [or] that without his command quixia in calla aço ztl, tlaqualli tequipan iecauj,
they levied tribute on the town, perchance of choco- mouicnia, quitetequixtia injc intech monequj, njman
late, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntla-
done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute tzontequjlia, injc quitzacutiui, aço qujnmecanja,
whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded anoço quixtetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujuixte-
that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned qui teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujadi qujteca
them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled tlatoanj.

9. Tlacochcalcatl, alternately see Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jones, op. cit., p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After concubinage, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has aunque anduviesse[n] en adulterio.

them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injqujpiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomitl, anoo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in cuauhtli, in chiauhtzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztazalli, chilpetlatl, aiocxochpetlatl, quauhaiocuchtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly tie house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncā mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncā cenquiçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaiꝰinjc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujccncauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlac qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, oc calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jonac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujzcatiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipalhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoā tlatoanj.

Coacalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhteintetl, in chalchiuhconcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Coliseum, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpilcalpan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de poca leve; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, these passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the marks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncā mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia quicanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jzquitlamantli, mācehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço māçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl quijchecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujmomachtiz, mochi ic moçencaubticatca, in cujcanjme: in jzquich monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, xiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçoloctli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in izquich tlamantli mācehoallaquitl, [534]

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaichecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaichecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuexrecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaichecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaichecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl intlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl. [302 304]

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICUEJ PARRĀPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan ceaca tlatlacoti 567 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujclaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jzquich nepapan totol: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tozneneme, coc'xome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jzquich nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jzquich tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocoxochtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Pinpiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called amanteca after the district of Amantlan, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 58, n. 2). Cf. also Soler, *Bisojo Español*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *mopanpixque* for *mopanpixque*, and begins with the verb a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "Casa de las fieras."

[p.46 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

291 531 **Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.**

The orange colored shift gathered at the waist; the shift [decorated with] yellow parrot feathers; the shift with the stamp device at the neck; the shift with flowers overspread; the shift of smoky color; [shifts] with large embroidered [figures] at the throat, with [designs] of cut reeds; the shift with feathers; the tawny colored shift; the shift of coyote fur; the duck feather shift; [the shift] with dyed rabbit fur; the shift with the gourd and thistle [design]; the shift overspread with dahlias;[1] [the shift] with the eagle head in a setting, done in feathers; the shift with a border of flowers;

The skirt with an irregular [design], having a wide border; the skirt with serpent skins, having a wide border; the skirt with the step meander, having a wide border, the skirt with squared corner stones, having a wide border; the skirt with thin, black lines, having a wide border; the white skirt [like a] bed covering, having a wide border; the ocelot skin skirt, having a wide border; the skirt with brown pendants, having a border; the skirt with coyote fur pendants, having a border;

301 Amber ear plugs; white crystal ear plugs; golden ear plugs; silver ear plugs; white obsidian ear plugs.

302 386 Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen. Feet were anointed with an unguent of burned copal incense and dye. They had hair hanging to the waist, or to the shoulders; or the young girls' lock of hair; or the hair [twisted with black cord and] wound about the head; or the hair all cut the same length. [Some] cut their hair short, [so that] their hair reached to their noses.[2] It was cut and dyed with black mud—[so] did they place impor-

Ic cuexolli cuplehtec vncan mjtoa in jnnechichioca in çioa.

Viztecoloçjtalpic vipilli, xonoloio ujpilli, quechnemecujlhoaio vipilli, xochimcioaoc ujpilli, pocujpilli, veuej tlamachtli inaquj, tolcaiaoquj, potoncaio vipilli, quappachio vipilli, coioichcaio vipilli, xomoiavipilli, tlapaltechcopinca xicalpetzol[1]o vipilli, aocuchimcioaoc vipilli, itqui tolcallo potoncaio xoxochioio vipilli.

Chicocuejtl, patlaoac in jtzo: coatlaxipeoallo cucitl. patlaoac in jtzo, xicalcolinhquj cucitl, patlaoac in jtzo, tetetacaio cuejtl, patlaoac in jtzo, tilpipitzaoac cucitl, patlaoac in jtzo: cacauolinhquj itzac cucitl, patlaoac in jtzo, ocelocuejtl, patlaoac in jtl; quappachpipilcac cuejtl, tzne: coioichcapipilcac cuejtl itzac.

Apoçonahcochtli, teujlonacochtli itzac, cuzic itecujtlanacochtli: itzac tecujtlanacochtli, itzacochtli itzac.

Motzoaia, tlapalhoezaltica: motzoaia, tecuçaltica: machapopotzoaia: copalxtica mocxiotiuja, tzonquetze, quauequeque, atzotzocoloque, maxtlaoa, motzonquetzaltica, quiyquetzquj in jtztoca, quiiaxcaoapanca in jtztoca: tlatzotzoa, motzotzoemj, quimamaxtlauati in jtztoatecoa: motzihcpujlpa, itzic papatlaca itztoc: motlanchpalhuja, motlinochetzija, tzotzocujlpa, tzoquechicujloa, tzoquechetzoma, tzechtiquipitzinujlpa, tzochichioaoacujloa.

1. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 24, *cempoalxóchitl* is identified as Dahlia [Translator, Cav. Dermatozoön (*op. cit.*, I, p. 89), however, says of another "the Mexican, *cempoalxóchitl* de calendario ornado, *tenfiguras del pelo, ornamento empleado por damas.* (Lagascana vulgaris, var.)." Manuel Urbina, in "Plantas ornamentales de las antiguas mexicanas," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, segunda época, Tomo I, pp. 515-sqq., 519, mentions two kinds of *cempoalxóchitl* (*zacatzali*, *quahtli*), of one of which Hernández is quoted to the effect that it has "*flores semidobles purpúreas*". Cf. Oliva in edited [Dan. de Parmaphyla, II, p. 276], giving *Tetramerispermum amerispermum* D. C. for synonym. Urbina alludes to a *Amerimnon amerispermum* Rusb. et Black.

2. After the manner, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has *mitzpanquixtiloc*—they left a tuft of hair over the forehead.

302 more upon their heads; it was dyed with indigo,[1] so
386 that their hair shone. The teeth were stained with
cochineal; the hands and neck were painted with
designs—the necks were covered [with painting].
The stomach and breasts were [also] painted with
designs.2

515 They bathed in the sweat house and with [soap
562 and] water. They were held in esteem. They were
modest, good, and of noble [mien]. Thus did they
[343] speak—attentively, and respectfully of others; they
[345] were diligent and considerate.

Materna, mahaltia, mocnamauizmat: pinaoanj, qualli naujztic, injc tlatoa: temauhcaitoanj, teixnacçanj, hiçiuhcaioque, moielitlacoanj.

1 [i.e. the Aztec women -- Analyst]
v

1. Xiuhquilitl. Dibble (op. cit., p. 70) translates tres hilos xiuhquilitl pinaoan, huitzpiton xiuh tlan, and xiuhquilitl pinaoan, Cobo usually greenish-blue pertaining to blue dye.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eleventh Chapter, in which it is told how the women were trained.

[Their were] the device with which [the loom] was held; the divided cord; the skein; the shuttle; the cane stalks; the wide batten, which swished [as it was used]; the thin batten, one made of bone; the small batten with which they worked designs; the heddle; the flail; the spindle whorl; the spinning bowl; chalk; the shallow spindle whorl when they spun with feathers; the basket for unspun cotton, one for rabbit hair, one for cotton thread, the basket for feathers, and the earthen bowl for feathers; the rack for yarn; the colored wood[1] with which they dyed cotton when they wove; the bowl for colors in which they dissolved pigments; the paper patterns from which they took the shape of whatsoever they made; magney spines, with which they picked the cotton threads.

They took personal charge of preparing food and chocolate. There were their older women, who had reared them; and their hand-maidens were hunchbacks and dwarfs, who sang and played the [small ground] drum to amuse them.

Injc cuenilli ece cxpitzalo, vncan mjtoa, injc mo-286
ichcocoia çan. 462

Nemoxj, mocamaxalli, quetzontli, xiotl, otlatl, tzonxapatli cacalaca, patlaoac: tzotzopaztli pitzoac, omjxotzopaztli, tzotzopaxcopitzac, ic tlamachioa: tepaçaxi, tlamjmcuaj, malacati, tzacalcaxitl, tiçatl, xaxalmalacatl ic injtzaoa: ichcaxaxatli, tochomjxaxatli, icpatzaxtli, injmaxtlj, injacomatl: tzatzaxtli, tlacxjhuiquixtjl injc quiçaujloa icpatl in quiçoçoji: tlapalcaxitl, in vncan quiçaxtla inslapal: amamachiotl, in vncan cana tlein tlamachtli quichioa; vizxtli injc quiximacaj icpatl: [386]

tlaquakchioa, achioa, quiçoamauja: vncate in jnnahoan in quiçaçacalitia, ioan in cocoa tepeztzome çihoa, tzapame, cujca, tlatzotzona: injc mexicquiçetia. 462 732 534 522

1. Thouhyhoxochitl (Sahagún [op. cit., III, p. 333] describes the roots as "Tzonxapatl, y tienen las raizes negras que parecen pinzones sobre el hombro: es dulce cosa provechosa, porque dá de sí para tapaderas, escudillas, y cañadas . . ." Cline is identified in Hernández, op. cit., IV, 69.

[p. 50 is blank]

-49-

Seventeenth Chapter, in which are told the exercises of the rulers and how they might perform well their office and their government.

FIRST PARAGRAPH, where is told, as well, the ordering of those sent when war was waged.

The ruler was known as the lord of men. His charge was war. Hence, he determined, disposed, and arranged how war would be made.

First he commanded masters of the youths and seasoned warriors to scan the [enemy] city and to study all the roads—where [they were] difficult, where entry could be made through them. This done, the ruler first determined, by means of a painted [plan], how was placed the city which they were to destroy. Then the chief noted all the roads —where [they were] difficult, and in what places entry could be made.

Then he summoned the general and the commanding general, and the brave warriors, and he commanded them how they were to take the road, what places the warriors were to enter, for how many days they would march, and how they would arrange the battle. And he commanded that these would announce war and send forth all the men dexterous in war to be arrayed, and to be supplied with provisions for war and insignia.

The ruler then consulted with all the majordomos —the men of the Petlacalco[1] and of the Azcalco, the majordomos of Quauhnauac and Uaxtepec, and [those] of Cuetlaxtlan, Tochpan, Tziuhcoac, Tepequacuilco, Uapan, Coatlixtlauacan, Tlappan, Tlachco, Matlatzinco, Ocuillan, Xilotepec, Atotonilco, Azcopan, Itzcuincuitlapilco, Atocpan, and Ayotzinteper. He ordered them to take out all their [goods held in] storage, the tributes, costly articles—insignia of gold, and with quetzal feathers, and all the shields of great price.

And when the majordomos had delivered all the costly devices, the ruler then adorned and presented with insignia all the princes who were already able in war, and all the brave warriors, the men [at arms],

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 99; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 166; II, p. 311.

Injc cxxtolli omome cap°. vncan mjtoa in jnncic- 643
hecoliz in tlatoque: in quenjn vel qujchioazque inte-
qujuh, in jntlatocaio.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, ioan in 643
tlatecpanalizt̃li, in qujxtlanja injc ixuqujçaia. 701

In tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, motocaiotia: itequjuh catca in iuiotl, injc ichoatl qujxtontequj, qujtecpana, qujçencahoa, in quenjn mochioaz iuiotl:

achto qujnaoatia in tiachcahoan, in tequjoaque, in 643
connemjlia altepetl, in conjtta, in quezquj vtli, in 723
campa oujca, in campa ic calacoaz, in ie iuhquj achto
oqujnemjli in tlatoanj, tlapallacujlolpan omotlal: in
altepetl, in poliujz, ie onjtztica in tlatoanj in izqui [102]
vtli, in campa oujcan, quezqujcan in calacoaz.

Niman ic qujoalnotza: in tlacuchcalcatl, in tlacateccatl, in tiacahoan qujnnaoatia, in iuh teumacazque in quezqujcan calaquiz ixuqujzquj, in quezquilhuitl monenemiz, in quenjn iautecoz: ioan qujnnaoatia, injc ichoantin, iautlatoque qujnnaoatizque: in jxqujch in quauhtloçeliotl, injc mochichioaz, injc moçencaoaz: in jca iauitacatl, ioũ tlaujztli.

Auh in ichoatl tlatoanj: njman qujnnonotza in 643
jxqujchtin calpixque, petlacalcatl, aztacalcatl: quauh- 714
naoac calpixquj, oxtepec calpixquj, cuetlaxtecatl:
tochpanecatl: tziuhcoacatl, tepequacujlcatl, hoappa-
necatl, coaixtlaoacatl, tlappanecatl, tlachcotecatl,
matlatzincatl, ocujltecatl, xilotepecatl, atotonjlcatl,
axocopanecatl, itzcujncuitlapilcatl, atocpanecatl, aio-
tzinteipecatl, qujnnaoatia, injc qujoalcujxque, in
jxqujch in jnpiel, in tlacalaqujlli, in tlaçotlanquj
tlaujztli in cozticteucujtlaio, in quetzallo: in jxqujch
tlaçochimalli.

Auh in jcoac oqujoalitqujque in calpixque: in 643
jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli: iichoatl tlatoanj, nj- 701
man qujcencaoa qujntlaujzmaca in jxqujchtin tlaço-
pipilti, in ie imjxco ca iautilizt̃li: ioan in jxqujchtin

643 701 the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí, and the noblemen who dwelt in the young men's houses.

721 And when it had come to pass that the ruler adorned them, when he had done this to the brave warriors, then the ruler ordered all the majordomos to bear their goods, all the costly devices, and all the valuable capes there to battle, that the ruler might offer and endow with favors all the [other] rulers, and the noblemen, and the brave warriors, the men [at arms] who were about to go to war, who were to be extended as if made into a wall of men dexterous with arms. And the ruler forthwith called upon the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan and the rulers in all the swamp lands, and notified them to proclaim war in order to destroy a [certain] city. He presented them all with costly capes, and he gave them all insignia of great price. Then he also ordered the common folk[2] to rise to go forth to war. Before them would go marching the brave warriors, the men [at arms], the lord general, and the commanding general.

726 The lords of the sun, it was said, took charge and directed in war. All the priests, the keepers of the gods, took the lead; they bore their gods upon their backs, and, by the space of one day, marched ahead of all the brave warriors and the seasoned warriors. These also marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tenochtitlan. Again these marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tlatilulco. These also marched one day ahead of all the men of Azcapotzalco, who likewise marched one day ahead of all the Tepaneca, who similarly marched one day ahead of the men of Xiloteper; and these also marched one day ahead of all the so-called Quaquata. In like manner the [men of] other cities were disposed. They followed the road slowly and carefully.

And when the warlike lands[3] were reached, the brave warrior generals and commanding generals then showed the others the way and arranged them in order. No one might break ranks or crowd in among the others; they would then and there slay or beat whoever would bring confusion or crowd in among the others. All the warriors were extended there, until the moment that Yacatecutli, [god of] the night, would descend—that darkness would fall.

tiacahoan, in oquichtin, in tequjoaque, in quaquachicti, in otomj: ioan in telpochcalmj in pipilti.

auh in ie iuhquj, in oococnauh tlatoanj, in tiacauh, in iuh oquichiuh. Niman quinnaoatia, in tlatoanj: in jxquichtin calpixque, injc intlatquj ietiaz: in jxquich tlaçotlanquj, tlaujztli: ioan in jxquich tlaçotilmatli, in vmpa iauc, in quinmacaz, in quintlauhtiz, in tlatoanj: In jxquichtin tlatoque, ioan in pipilti, ioan in tiacahoan, in oquichtin in iauteoatoque, in iuhquj oçelotenanti, quauhtenanti mochiuhtoque: ioan in tlatoanj, achto quinnotza in tlatoanj tetzcuco, ioan tlacopan: ioan in jxquich chinanpanecatl in tlatoque, quincaquitia, injc iautlatoa, injc poliujz oc altepetl: quintlauhtia, in jxquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan quinmaca, in jxquich tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli. Niman no ic quinnaoatia: in jxquich in jmaçeoal, injc inuquiçatiuh: inpan hicatiuj in tiacaoan, in oquichtin, in tlacochcalcatl tecutli, ioan tlacatecatl,

tonatiuh itlatocahoan mjtoaia, quiiacans in quiujca iauc, iacattiuj in ixquichtin tlamacazque, in teupixque, quinmama in jntevoan cemjlhujtl quimjtztiuj, in ixquichtin tiacahoan, in tequjoaque, no cemjlhujtl quimjtztiuj, in jxquich iauquizquj in tenochcatl, no cemjlhujtl quimjtztiuj, in jxquich iauquizquj tlatilulcatl: no cemjlhujtl quimjtztiuj, in jxquich aculhuacatl: no cemjlhujtl quitztiuj, in jxquich tepanocatl, no cemjlhujtl quitztiuj, ixilotepecatl: no cemjlhujtl q'mjtztiuj, in jxquich moquetaitoa: çan no iuj in oc cequj altepetl, motetrepana, iujian, iocuxca, in otlatoca.

Auh in jcoac, oninoc teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan, in iehoantin tiacaoan tlatlacuchcalca, tlatlacatecca njman teumaca, tetecpana, niac vel tepeuaia, niac vel tetlan quiça, çan njmo vncl quinmjctia, quinuiiçtequj, in aquin tlaixnelonoquj: tetlan quiçaznoqui, in oomoiotca ixquich iauquizquj, in ic inman in ossalhüeca acuiztli, in tlaioalli inic tlaiocalcuioaz: auh in jcoac ie itech nequetzaloz, in altepetl poliuja, achto oc cenca machiia in tletl, in quenman coe-

2. The corresponding Spanish passage reads: "Mandaron luego, a los valerosos, que llamaron otomíes, a todos los principales, para él, y para sus soldados: y entonces la multitud a su ruego, y los demás vinieron."

3. Yoaoyopan, diehlaulcalmoyan: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, p. 188 (Segundo para la guerra soldadesca), and p. 195 (Los lugares de los soldados).

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited remedy the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one feared to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed these in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech cloths, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzcalco[4] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was attained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

panja: injc tlequauhtlaça tlamacazque: ioã in tlaçiz- 726
alli in tecuciti, in oquiçitaque tlamacazque:

ioan in ocuepon tlel, njman ic cemoa, in jaquijch
iaquiniquj, motemapoanja, mjcalj, quiçlemjtia in
teucalli.

Auh in achtopa in caçi malli in maliacatl, çan njman
vncan, imjxpan quimjctia, in teteu, tecpatica quelte-
tequj.

Auh in ioc ompeuh ahcopeti, njmã ic ic nemal- 727
poalo, in quexquijch malli: ioan in quexquijch omjc
mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, njman mochi quicaquitia in
tlatoanj, injc tepul oicnopiltic vitzilobuchtli injc
otlamalec, ioan omjcoac: auh in tlatoanj njman
quimmaxatia, in tecutlatoque: injc quitemachtitinj,
injc quiccaquijxitinj, in jnchan in jaquijnti, oiaumj-
quito, injc choquililoque in jochachan, in oiaumj-
quito: ioan quiccaquitia in jachan, in quenqui
otlamato iuuc, ic vncan quicuitia in mauiztotl, in
ipampa oqujchiotl: ioan quimmacuitaia in jaquijch
itictacelitaia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli, in maxtlatl,
in xtl, tlaqualli, ioan tlaujztli, ioan teçacatl, nacochtli:
oc cenca quimjcaelitaia in tlaçopiltli, in tlatoanj intla
otlamato, quimaca calpixcantli: ioan in jaquijch tla-
çotli necuiltonollj, in mauiztotl, in tlatotl, in tiiatl.

[555]

Auh intla acame quitlacua iniotl, njman vmpa 687
quimmjctia in iuuc quimmjtequj, quimtecpachoa.

Auh intla acame, quimocuicuilia ce malli, quitoa 727
ce tlacatl, ca nonual, in oc ce tlacatl no quitoa ca
nonual: intlacamo ce tlacatl iiech nelti, niuc no quim-
jtzuc, in quenjn tlamaque: ichoantin quimtlatzonoa-
quilia, in tonatiuh itlatocahoan: niuc tle onepiça in
jnnemactin in quimocuicuilia in malli: iuh quimo-
tequj, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatoque, niuc ce iiech
pouhquj ixt in malli: vitzcalli quipoaia, calpoleo
quicaxtia, in jchan tlacatecolotl.

Auh in ioc ontlac ahcopeti in ompeuhoh, njman 728
ioc motlalia, in tequjtl, in tlacuhcpohlli iiech mana 651
in tlein vmpa mochioa, auh njman no iquac inque-

4. Cf. ibid., pp. 201-202, referring to the battle of Cuauhtla, where eleven Tenochca and third in succession: "How can we of pueblo del tecuhtli que se dice Uitznahuac."

728 651 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a steward was placed in office, who would watch over and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described how they chose judges.

643 693 565 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he heard all the accusations and the complaints, the afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[1] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been round. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [arms] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

[577] Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened and spoke well; who were of good memory; who spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make friends without forethought nor were drunkards; who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death; [681] hence they performed their offices as judges righteously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Tecalli, where they

INJC-VME PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn quijnpepenaia Iuczes.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocaitlauiaia in tetlamonequjlilistli, quicaqua in jaquich in jnecuilhuj: inan in jchoqua, in jnecuimachilis in jnonolinjlis in cujtlapilli, atlapalli in jcnotlacatl, in mocolinja in maqcualli:

auh injc uel quinchiliaia in tlatoanj in tenotzilhuj. anoço tetlatlacul quijnjxquetzaia, quijnpepenaia in jnecuilacacahoan: ichcauhca in tlaqujpalli, in tlaiecultilo in onca in quinj, in quiquanj, in mocujhmoa, ioan tlacaoan, oquichti, in inic omocalticque, mjiec tlamiti tecoco netolinjlistli, oquijmacuiçoque: auh in jaquj tlamantj qualli neixpanolistli, nencalolistli, in japilchan oquijmomachtique, in calmecac neixpanolistli, in tlachcapa neixpanolistli, in tetlan neixpanolistli, in calpan tetlan nemjlistli, inoquiçalistli, tlamalistli.

Auh çan no iuh[ij], injc quijnpepenaia tlatoanj, inic quijnjxquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in axcc pipiltl: ichcauhca in qualli ictli, inneixpanolis, inmocaltilis, in inic omocapacuhque, in tlacahoan in oquichti, in mjiec tlamantli oquijmacuiçoque, inicnelilia tlatoanj, in jpul xtli, tlapia, in quinpaquiltia, in quinlauhtia, ioan in quinmaca, in jaquich inuch monequj:

inkqua in in quijnjxquetzaia, in quijnpepenaia tlatoanj, in jnecuilacacahoan, in mjmatini, in mocaltiano, in tlamemjlianj, in vellacoqui, in vellaoa, in motlaolloticuj, in anno ahuiltiaoa, in anno cacamatoua, in anno ilnuja mocuiçalotia, anno tlacatanj; cenca quijnnejnjpia in tecuitl, anno cochinj, cenca cochiçanj anno tle quicnjalchichia: anno tle quinnalcachioa: anno tle quicnicxolcachioa, anno tlatlauhjlica quicaqui, anoço quitlatemoqui: quijnpepenaoatilaia, in tlatoanj: inje nelioac quichioaque in jaxaqujch, in tecutlatolli: auh intlacaoan, ca ichcauhca omomachtiaiaque in tecutlaque, in tlein quijtlacaque.

Auh in jnoc, oquinejxquem in tlatoanj: in jnecuilacacahoan quijnnecuia vuecl in tlatocatli, in te-

1. [illegible] cf. ibid., p. 310 (for majiec [mjiec]) and p. 311 (cocochinj).

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Tecalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that their judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Cuauhnochtli, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauhtlahtolchac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlahtolchac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tzacacuacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Cioatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinauacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhtin,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the poor, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be learned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practice the song and [to prepare] the two-toned calli, in vncan icoque, in vncã netlamacoznequiloque, 643
in vncan quicaquizque in jaquich tlamiti tlacatecolli, 693
in cenetl teccalli, inca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlamacoznequiliuia tlaccaquipilti, tlatocaquipilti, çan nimã ic iuhca quicaquizque intenextilhuj, anoço tetlatlacol. 565 [344]

Auh inic vecan tecutlatocaia, inca teccalli, vncan ceca in tecutlatocque mexica: inijan iocuxca quicaquia, in jnetelhuyl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oquichpeuhque, in oquiectilique netelhujlli, tlapallacujlpan quitlalia, inic vmpa quiquj tlacxitlan in jpã quinlaquaia in tecutlatoque in tlaxaquipilti, inic vmpa motlatoquj. 693 [344] 565 695 [212]

Auh intla ilã cujlitica inic quiquj in tlatoanj inic ixhoantî quitocatequj in juxtca ceca tecutlatoque. Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlahtolchac, tlacocioacatl, pochteca tlahtolchac, exoaoacatl, mexicatl tzacacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, tlacocioacatl, çioatlcpanecatl, tequixquinaoacatl; ixhoantin, y, in tecutlatoque quinnemjlitia, quichiquia, quipetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, quitetemoaia in machiotique, in tlanehilanj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchichinalli in caquiçilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca quenhcatco otlalilac. 695 643

Auh intla aca quiçlaxcoznequilia tlatoanj mjquja, nimã quimjctia, in jemjcticaoan achcacauhtî, quauhnochtli, aczompaoacatl: inic ixhoantin quimjctia, quimocanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan quimotlachoa, anoço quimotoquj. 693 696

INIC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenin netotilia. 535

In tlatoanj oc ceneca quimocujtlauiaia, in maçonalistli, in papaquiltzli, inic quimellaquaoa, inic quinixillalia, in jaquichtin tlacopa, ioan pipilti, ioan teteuctli, ioan tlacatecua: inin in jaquich in cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in maçonalli: 643

achtopa quitoa in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl mocuepa quimaxtlatia in cujcanjtoc: inic quitlahcuepa inic quichicuaque in cujcatl, inin tepuzmaitl, omaitl, 643 533 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los unos, unos diffinidores, y jueces, llamandolos al orden para que los executores pusiesen con toda puntualidad, unos delinquentes, que son el malhechor, y culpados."

7. After the word *pochtecatlahtolchac*, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes *mexicatl tzacacuacatl* apparently in ephemeral. This title *Tlacochcalcatl* is repeated in the Anales text of the Florentine Codex.

8. *Con engaño* goes to probably *nenemi* (cf. *ibid.*).

9. *Achcacauhtin* cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 166, 280, 290; II, pp. 210, 331; also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 100, and III, p. 32.

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dancer, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed him-
292 self, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
301 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech cloth he girt himself.

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become benumbed. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the prior vesnel: ioan in inquich maçoallaquiti, ioan netotilitli, aquin cujcaioz, aquiquc in teicanaoque, aquin teponaoque, aquin veuetoque, mochi achto mocencauia inic ale ilacauiz.

Auh in ie iconac maçoa tlatoaiz, in tlein ilhuiti ipan mocencaoa, mochichiua iquetzallalpilozi conic teucuitlaio, inic quilpia itzan, conic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtzontli in conaquia itzaoa, conic teucuitlanacochtli, in caquia inacaoc: auh in concal conteca, aço chalchiuhcoacatl, anoço cuecapetlatl, teuxiuitl ilaactoc, macuextli imac quitlalia vei chalchiuitl ipan ca anoço vei teuxiuitl, anoço conic teucuitlamatemecatl, quetzalecacozcatli, tlaçotlaoqui inic mjaxtia inic maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in quimololoa, in quimoquetzia, tlaçomaxtlatl in quimomaxtlatia,

njman ic no quicencaoa quinchiuhtia: in inquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in tequjchti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacoan oquichtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan quinmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlaoaiz in jxquitlamantin omotenehuque.

Auh intla itla quitlacoa cujcanjme: aço tepozuitli quichalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cujcaiotia, quipoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in quipoloa netotilitli: njman tlanoozcia in tlatoaiz, quauhcalco conchalia in aquin tlatlacoa, quitzacutiuh mjquja.

INIC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncã mjtoa inic inocçoaia in aquin tlatoaiz, inic tlapiaia in inaltica: ioan in cemjlhuitl in jpãpa inuiuol.

In tlatoaiz oc cenca quimocuitlauiaia in inatlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhuitl ceiuol, ic tlatlaquanhuacoztiuia, inic cenca tlapialoz ma quenamanjan axcenemachpan inaxcalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necoxtlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca itnoçoaia in tlatoaiz, axno tlaoaxia, iicoua in inhoalica quenamanjan quiçaia quijnoloa in altepetl quixta tlein mochioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazqui in tlachcauh apoyic necuitlauilo in mjxitl in tlapetl in ocelt ioan oc cenca quipolaquyaxtoxoaxtiuia in tlatoaiz

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

or the master of the youths were not keeping watch, having already become addlepated.[10] And the ruler most sternly commanded that all the seasoned warriors and lords keep watch all day and all night in warlike lands and be concerned to be a rampart of men dexterous at arms in enemy paths. And they were to apprehend and seize informers who had entered here in secret, who walked about the city. And they perceived when war was to be proclaimed. And when war already was declared, then they hastened to enter [their city] to warn their lords so that then they would ready themselves for guarding against the foe.

And if informers[11] were seized, they were slain; they were beaten, because of what they made known. And if it were noted that some knew the Mexicans and were living with them in their homes, they also imprisoned the informers of the ruler's foes, with the householders who had been plotting with them, and their children, and plundered their goods, so that nothing[12] was to be seen in their homes.

And likewise the ruler urged strongly that watch be kept within the city, all day and all night, lest someone betray the city, lest it might be surrounded by enemies. And therefore sometimes the ruler and the city would march forth. And the ruler commanded that rulers of the youths, the brave warriors, and all the youths, each day, at night, should sing and dance, so that all the cities which lay around Mexico should hear. For the ruler slept not, nor any of the Mexicans.

And when it was deep night, then the priests of Tenochtitlan and of Tlatilolco, and [men from] all the hamlets [nearby], blew shell trumpets and beat two-toned drums. Then all the priests went forth. Everywhere they performed penances all about the mountain tops. And thus they kept watch lest they come upon something. [When] already it grew light, they went into [the city]. Thus they kept guard each night; thus did they do.

in jaquíchcia iauiznequc in tlatoque icemjlhujtl 643
içpiuiual tlapianque, in tmaxcapan in tlachinolhempã, 726
in quimocuitlaujquc ocelotenamjtl, quauhtenamjtl,
in iaiauh: ioan quimanaquc quiuicinquiquc in
tetlan nenequc in ichtaca oalcalaquj in quiyoalnemilia
alteperl, ioan oallapia in jquiyn iautlatolol, auh in
oquicaquc ca ic iautlatolio: njman calactiuetzi in
connonotza intlatocauh inic njman no moçencaoa
iautlapialittica.

Auh intla ano tetlanenequc, mjctilo, tetzotzonalo 687
inca nenoquetzalo. Auh intla nacho, ca acame quj-
nuati in mexica in ichan oalmocalhotia, in tetlanen-
quc in jiacohoan no quiçacutiuja, inca nenonotzaloia
in chanequc, iolí in jnpilhoan, ioan namoiciloia in
intlaquj atl neneçia in ichan.

Auh çan no iuhquj cenca ipan tlatoaia in tlatoani 643
inic cenca tlapialoc in jitic alteperl, icemjlhujtl, 726
çoiual, in ma aca quitlachichiujli alteperl, in ma 722
iauiuaoaloio quenmanjan, auh inic icatzac tlatoanj,
ioan alteperl quinnaoatiaia in tlatoanj in telpuchcla-
tequc, in tiacahoan: ioan in iaquich telpuchdi, inic [533]
momoztlae ioalnica cujcoanequc, inic quioalcaquja
iaquich alteperl, in quiiaoaloc mexico: ca amo
cochi in tlatoanj, ioan iaquich mexicatl.

Auh in jquic tlaquaxoltlapoioa: njman tlapitza, 722
ioan tepemaçahoa, in tlamacazequc tenochca, ioan
tlatilulca: ioan iaquich alteperuaitl, icoac quiça in
jaquiçhcia tlamatzequc, nouiian in outlamaçcoa
nouiian tepeticpac, ioan ic oncalpia in aço itla quj-
namjquitinj ic tlatojnaoac ỹ oalcalaquja inic ontla-
pixia çaçoiual ink quichioaia.

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10. Simeon, *op. cit.*, identifies *tetzotl* as an intoxicating plant, and *ihcopol* as *Bidens odorata*; a tradicional plant, Otomi, *op. cit.*, p. 333, has for *Bidens* a new infusion, a *dye used amongst Mixtecs, Zapotecs, Totonacapans, Nahuatl speakers*, . . . ; for *Xoxocotzactzi*, a *salve for sores*. Viesca points: "In *tetzotzonaloya, en tetzotzonaloyaoc*; *in pahqui tetzotl, in pahqui ihcopol tetzotl*. Similar expressions: *in aquin ahcoxoc quiyocuitzcuiyoc tetzotzonaloc in tetzotl in tlamacazqui, oncuel ihcopol tetzotzonaloc*; *inic tetzotl ahcoxoc quiyocuitzcuiyoc in tlein ic tetzotzonaloc*; *tlamapic inic ahcoxoc tetzotzonaloc*; *tlahuiz*. These *tetzotl tetzotzonaloc*, *tlein tetzotl tetzotzonaloc*, *ahcoxoc tetzotl tetzotzonaloc*, *ahcoxoc tetzotl tetzotzonaloc*, *ahcoxoc

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

342 643 [373] 644 722 And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, likewise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go out. It was watched all night and made to burn with pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Cuecalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] home.

[373] The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj ceiual in tlapialoia, aquenman omja in tetl: çeiual in tlapialoia, ioan tlaujloia ocotica, in vncan iician tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cujcacali, ioan cuecali, in jntenetlaliaian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan telcalli in jnneçenquijxtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in noujian tlilxitlalcalpan mamanj: vncã icacalcemj in telpupuchti in tlapia, niac ichan oncochia, intequjuh cauca in telpopochti, in quauhcla ializtli, injc tlapialoia iitic altepetl injc çençeoui tlaujloia tlatlatloia, injc tlapialoia.

643 542 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was raking, there was sweeping.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn mellelqujxtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac qujttaia, ujmatia ca cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli macoalli: njman tlanaoatiaia, injc ollamaloz, injc teellaquaoaia, injc tepaqujltiaia tlatoanj: qujnnaoatiaia in calpixque, injc qujoalcujaque in olli, ioan nelpiloni, ioan queçeoui, ioan maiouac: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlaxujhlo, tlaxalujlo, tlachpano:

643 525 And all which the ruler was to wager in the game—the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

ioan in jaqujch qujxlanjoa tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in xamoiujcilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtenteti, teucujlanacochtli, chalchiuhcoacatl, teucujtlacoacatl, tlatzopeztli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli qujoalqujxtia in calpixque, qujoallalia in tlachco. Auh in ichoantin qujnamjqujzque, in collamjzque tlatoanj: njman jq'tlamjctia, in jxqujch itlaquj tlaçodi: auh in ie ix motolinja macoalli, icceciaca conthlia tlatoanj ica itaiaçol in iuhquj quiquemj maçoalli. Auh intla oqujtlanque tlatoanj, njman xepatla, in calpixque qujcema in jxqujch tlaçotli tlaqujtl, in oqujdanjlique tlatoanj: auh in macoalti no qujnaca in jxqujch oqujdanilique tlatoanj.

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13. *Tlacxitlan*: see Antonio Méndez, *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlacxitlacalli* is defined as a small house or room. According to Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, p. 348, "las piedras quedaban colocadas en manera calpulli ó barrio, existiendo los correspondientes cuatro, cada calpulli dividido por calles ó tlacxitlacalli."

14. *Tlapoal*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to divers, in which case the Aztec should read *tlacual*.

When he wished to be amused, the ruler commanded that they play *patolli*, that a mat on which *patolli* was played be painted black, in widely spaced stripes. So was it painted that there might be kept the count whereby the game could be won. And then also holes were drilled into the surfaces of four large beans with which *patolli* was played and the game was won. And in the same way the majordomos did [as in the ball game]:[18] they spread out all the costly goods and belongings of the ruler, there where *patolli* was played, where [players] represented the ruler. And then, if the ruler were bested, then the majordomos brought out other [players]; and they changed all the vessels whom the ruler had set in place that *patolli* be played.

In tlatoanj, in jquac quinoquja iellelquiçaz tlanextiaia injc patoz, mjcmjkoa oc patolpetlatl, ica tlilli, papadactic in tlaxotlalli ic mjcujkoa, in vncan neposalo ic netlanjoa: auh njman no mjacxiocja nauhcxitl siecotli, injc patolo injc netlanjoa: auh çan ie no iuhquj quicxioaia in calpixque, injc mochi tlaçotli in jtlesquj, in jxaca tlatoanj, quiualtoca in oncan patolcian, in quiztlanitalhuja in tlatoanj, auh in iccac, intla otlanjhoac tlatoanj, njman tepotla in calpixque: ioan quipatla in jaquichtin maçoualti, in occentlalica tlatoanj in patolcia. 643 522 525 524

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the ruler who was good of heart and kindly.

The ruler was very indulgent of others, very merciful, and kindly. When he wished, he set forth along the road, following it. If any poor vassal, who made bold to hail the ruler, greeted him pleasingly, then [the ruler] commanded the majordomo to give him a cape, a breech clout, and a place for him to sleep, and that which he might drink, and eat—dried grains of maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if a lowly woman made bold to greet the ruler, he likewise granted and accorded her her shift, her skirt, a place for her to sleep, what she might drink and eat—grains of dried maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if some poor indigent were to fashion or make so many skin drums, or a song of honor, if then he dedicated them to the ruler, if he gave them [to him, the ruler] showed great compassion and indulged him; he gave him a house, he enriched him; he gave him whatsoever goods lay in the house; and he gave him a steward who daily might care for him, give him to eat, provide him his breakfast, wherewith to break his fast, and provide him wherewith to sup. And he gave him all [manner of] gifts—costly capes, beds, wealth, women, and a slave, and honor.

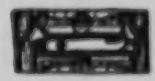
INJC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in aquin tlatoanj qualli iollo, teicnoittanj. 643 431

In tlatoanj, cenca tetlaoculianj, cenca teicnoitanj, ioan teicnelianj, in jcoac quinequja, quiçaz in odi quitocaz: in aquin motolinja maçoalli, in 'motlapaloa, injc quitlapaloz tlatoanj, intla ouelquitlapalo in tlatoanj: njman quinaoatia in calpixquj, quimacaz tilmatli, maxtlatl, ioan icochia, ioan in ꞏquix, in quiquaz, tlaolli, etl, ouuhtli. Auh intla motolinjanj çioatl motlapaloz quitlapaloz tlatoanj, çan no iuh quicnelia, quitlauhtia in jujpil, in jcuc, icochia, in quix, in quiquaz tlaolli, etl, ouuhtli. Auh intla acz motolinja, icnotlacatl, oquichiuh, oquitlali, quezquj veuetl mauizio cuicatl, intla njman iech quipoa tlatoanj, intla quimaca, cenca quicnelia, quitlaocolia, quicalmaca quicuihoaoa, quimaca in quezquich tlatquitl in jtic onoc calli, ioan quimaca calpixquj injc momoztlac quimecatlauja quitlaqualtia, quitenjxitia, quinenhcaiotia quicochcaiotia: ioan quimaca in iuquich netlauhtilli in tlaçotlmatli, in pepechtli in necujhnotli, çioa, ioan tlacotli, ioan mauiztiotl.

18. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "y de allí venían en largo, con que pensaban, y pensaban bien, y otras cosas como estas se dicen."

[p. 60 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7



Eighteenth Chapter, in which it is told how they chose those who would govern.

The ruler was thus given office and chosen. The lords assembled and deliberated as to whom they would set in office and choose to be ruler. In the same manner assembled the old men and the seasoned warriors, brave warriors, men [at arms], and the leaders of the youths; lords; and keepers of the gods; *fire* priests—the long-haired ones.[1] All were gathered there at the great palace, the residence of the ruler, in order to consult and choose him who was to be ruler. They cast votes for all the princes who were sons of lords; men [at arms]; brave warriors, experienced in war, who shrank not from the enemy;[2] who knew not wine—who were not drunkards, who became not stupefied;[3] the prudent, able, wise; of sound and righteous rearing and upbringing; who spoke well and were obedient, benevolent, discreet, and intelligent.

And when were settled the deliberations and choosing, they were as one [in their] accord. When a certain prince was chosen and given the charge of being ruler, then also were raised to their office and chosen those who were to help him, the [four] princes who would be by his side; who would be his lords. They were invested with, and given, the titles Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznaoatlailotlac, Pochtecatlailotlac, and Ticociauacatl.

When this was done, when the choosing was settled, then was determined on what good day sign would be installed those who had been elected—the ruler and the lords. Then the command was given when there would be a meeting, and all the noblemen were commanded then to come to assemble in the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli.

Injc cxxtolli omej capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn quijnpepenaia, in aqujque tlatocatizque. 643

In tlatoanj, injc ixquetzaloia, inic pepenaloia, mocentlaliaia, mononotzaia, in tecutlatoque, injc quixquetzaia, injo quipepenaia, in aqujn tlatoanj iez çan no iuhquj mocentlaliaia in achcacauhti ioan tequjoaque, tiacahoan, oquichtin, ioan tiachcauh tlatoque, ioã teupixque tlenamacaque, papaoaque, ixquichtin mocentlaliaia in vncan vei tecpan tlatocan, injc mononotzaia, injc quipepenaia in ac iehoatl tlatocatiz, quintenoaia in jxquichtin tlaçopipilti, in tlatoque impillicun, in oquichti, in tiacoaan in iauc matinj, in amo quitlaçotla in jntzonteco, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo quximati in vctli, in amo tlaoananj, in amo quimotequjtia mjxitl, tlapatl, in mjmatinj, [577] in motzalianj, in tlamatinj, in qualli ieztli ineztaliliz, innecoapaoaliz, in vellatoa, in vellacaquj, in tetlaçotlanj, in jxe in iollo.

Auh in iouac in omocencauh nenonotzaliztli, tlapepenaliztli, in ocentet tlatolli, in ac iehoatl tlaçopilli in oanoc, in oixquetzaloc in tlatoanj iez: njman no iquac ixquetzalo, pepenalo in quipalcuizque, in jtlan iezque in tlaçopipilti, in jtecutlatocahoan iezque: motecutlalia, motocamaca tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac pochtecatlailotlac, ticociauacatl: 643 644

in ie iuhquj in omocencauh tlapepenáliztli, njman nenonotzalo, tlein qualli cemjlhujtonalli in jpan tlalilonque, in opepenaloque: in tlatoanj ioan in tecutlatoque, ic tenaoatilo in jquin çenquixoaoa: ioan naoatilo in jxquichtin pipilti, injc cenquiçaqujuj in jitoalco vitzilopochtli: [777]

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1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "juntaronse los ancianos que llamauan Tecuhtlatoque; y tambien los viejos del pueblo, que llamauan achcacauhti; y tambien los capitanes valientes varjos de la guerra, que llamauan tenimpoyanque; y otros capitanes que eran principales, en las cosas de la guerra; y tambien los sacrjpas, que llamauan Tlenamacaque, o papaoaque."
Papaoaque: cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III, Appendix, cap. 8. In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 533, n. 2, the term is thus explained: "'Cosas que eran los ciruanos nuestros en tiempo que los crueles'; singular [illegible], forma de nahuatal papatli, ciruadano lengua si es diminuto."
2. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, [illegible] 14.
3. Mjxitl, *diapatl*: see Chap. 17, n. 10, *supra*.

- 61 -

643 And some of the noblemen who feared the office of ruler hid themselves and took refuge [from those who might choose them].[4]

643 FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is told how they
644 arrayed those who had been elected when they did penance, and led them to the house of Uitzilopochtli.

And at this time were brought together, according to command, the noblemen, the lords, the masters of the youths [who were] leaders, and great judges. When these lords were assembled, then they commanded the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, to seek out and go to take among themselves, those who had been chosen: the one whom they had named ruler and those whom they had named lords. When they had been put in office, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired-ones, went to take, wheresoever he was, the one who had been vested in the office of ruler. Then they speedily laid hold of him; before them, all the people beheld him.

643 Then they took him before the lords. He went
292 bare. They put on him a green,[5] sleeveless jacket. And they had him carry upon his back his tobacco gourd with green tassels. Then they veiled his face, they covered his head [with a] green fasting cape designed with bones. Then they gave him his green[5] cotton bag filled with incense and decorated with bones, and they put on him his new foam sandals with green toes. They placed in his hand his incense ladle, also painted with the skulls of the dead, and with paper pendants [on the handle].

643 And these long-haired ones, keepers of the gods, went to take the ruler, making him go up before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. When they had brought the ruler to the top [of the pyramid temple], then he took incense, poured it into the incense ladle, in which there were live coals. Then he raised it before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order to perfume it. He stood always with his face covered by the fasting cape designed with bones. And all the common folk stood looking up at him. Trumpets were sounded; the shell trumpets were blown.

644 And these lords—the Tlacochcalcatl, the Uitznaua-
292 tailotlac, the Pochtecatlailotlac and the Ticociauacatl —the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, then also speedily adorned. Each one they dressed in his

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "muchos de los que tenian empacho que los eligiesen, se escondia por no ser electos por no tomar tan gran carga."

5. Nacaxtipol, ecuxtic: words omitted in corresponding Spanish text.

aiuh in cequintin in pipilti in quimacaçi tlatocaiotl motlatia mjnaia.

INIC CE PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn quinchichioaia, in opepenaloque, in ipan tlamaçeoaia: ioan quinuicaia, in jchan vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in ie iuhquj: in ocenquixoac, in jcoac nacotilli, in pipilti, in tecutlatoque, in tiiachcauh tlaiacatique, ioan achcacauhti, in onecentecoc, in iehoanti tecutlatoque niman quinnaoatia in teupixque, papaoaque, inic quixtemozque inic tetzalan conanatiuj: in opepenaloc in tlatoanj, quitocaiotia in aquin, ioan quintocaiotia in aquique tecutlatoque, oixquetzaloque njman ic uj in canazque in teupixque papaoaque, in campa catquj, oixquetzaloc tlatoanj: njman quicuitiuetzi teixpan mochi tlacatl quitta:

njman ie qujujca imixpan tecutlatoque petlzuhtiuh conaquja xicolli xoxouhquj, ioã qujmamaltia iietecon in jmamaxoxouhquj: njman ic conjxtlapachoa, ic quiquaquimjlos neçaoalquachtli xoxoctic omjcallo, njmã ic conmana icpaxiquipilli in vncan tentiuh copalli omjcallo xoxoctic: ioan conaaqujlia iancujc in jpoçolcac xoxoctic in jquequetzil, njman imac contequjlia, in jtlema, no mjecatzontecomaio, injc tlacujlolli, amocujtlapile.

Auh in iehoantin, papaoaque teupixque: caantiuj in tlatoanj in qujtlecauja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: in jcoac ocaxitique in tlatoanj, in tlacpac, njman concuj in copalli, contema in tlemaco, in vncan ietiuh tlexochtli: njman ic cacocuj in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, inic tlapopochuja, çan ic quatlapachiuhticac: in neçaoalquachtli, omjcallo. Auh in jxquich maçooalli, acopa conjztoc, tlapitzalo, mopitza in tecuciztli.

Auh in iehoantin tecutlatoque, tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, pochtecatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl: njman no hiçiuhca qujnchichioa, in teupixque papaoaque, cecciaca qujmaquja tlilticiixicolli, ioan imjietecon,

black sleeveless jacket, and his tobacco gourd with black tassels, and they put on them their white foam sandals.[6] Then they veiled and covered their faces, each one of them, with black fasting capes designed with bones. And they gave them cotton incense bags, black and designed with bones; which they filled with incense. And their incense ladles were filled with live coals. Then also they took up each one of them; the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst, in order to have them go up above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. Then each one took incense; each one filled his incense ladle, which went full of live coals, and raised the incense ladle before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli and perfumed it.

tiltic in jmaxna, ioan quimaxquilia impocolcac itzac: njman ic quimotlapachoa, quimonixquimjlloa, ocenxme, ica neçaoalquachtli, tiltic omjcallo, ioan quixoxmaca icpaxiquipilli, tiltic omjcallo, in vncan temj copalli, ioan intlema tlexocheli onmentiuh: njman ic no quimtlecauja cecenxme, quimtlacoxantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, injc quimtlecauja iicpac vitzilopochtli, injc cecenxme concuj in copalli, cotema in jntlemaco, in vncan tentiuh tlexochtli, cacocuj in tlemaitl in jixpã vitzilopochtli quipopochuja. 644 292

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how those chosen did penance there in the temple and came not forth for four days.

And when this was done, and they had offered incense and spread a fragrance before Uitzilopochtli, then they brought down the ruler, the lord of men; he went covered with the green fasting cape with a design of bones. Then they also brought down each one of the lords. They went quite slowly in order; they went with faces veiled, each one, with the fasting cape with the bone design.

The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst. They took [the ruler and] they escorted[7] [the lords] there to the house of fasting, a place named Tlacochcalco, or Tlacatecco, the house of Uitzilopòchtli. There they fasted and did penance for four days. Nowhere went they forth; they only remained seated. When it was already midday, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, also went; the ruler and the lords in the Tlacatecco, who fasted there, they seized—they went taking them in their midst. They went with faces veiled in fasting capes; in the hands of each one went his incense ladle, and each one went taking with him his cotton bag filled with incense. Slowly and in order they went to take them up, above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer incense, to spread a fragrance before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. In the same way they came down; they came in order; they came with faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. Then was the time

INJC VME PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn tlamaçeoaia in tlapepenalti, in vmpa teupan: auh amo oalquiçaia naujlhujtl. 643 644

Auh in ie iuhquj otlenamacaque, otlapopochuique iixpan vitzilopochtli: njman ic quioaltemouja in tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, tlapachiuhtiuh in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo zoxoctic: njman ic no cecciaca quioaltemouja, in tecutlatoque, çan jujian tecpantiuj, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj, cecciaca in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo. 783 785

quintlacoxantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, qujujca quimoouja in neçaoalcalli, itocaiocan tlacochcalco, ioan tlacatecco, in jchan vitzilopochtli: in vncan tlamaçeoaia moçaoaia naujlhujtl, amo campa quiça, çan cheoaticate; in jcoac ie nepantla tonatiuh, njman ic no ohuj in teupixque papaoaque: in vncan tlacatecco, in vncã moçaoaia tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, quimonana, quintlacoxantiuj ixquimjlhuhtiuj, in jca neçaoalquachtli, inmac onotiuh in jntlema icecenxme, ioan itlan cantiuh cecciaca in jicpaxiquipil, in vncan tentiuh copalli, çan jujian tecpantiuj, in quintlecauja in jcpac vitzilopochtli, inic ontlenamaca, injc ontlapopochtuja ixpan vitzilopochtli: çan no iuj injc oalcemo tecpantiujtac, ixtlapachiuhtiujtac, in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo: quinjcoac tlaqua in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque ça ceppa in tlaqua cemjlhujtl.

6. *Itapaltecuc: huaraches de henequén.*
7. *The Real Academia de la Historia MS has quimocuepaca for quimocuepa.*

643 644 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did they eat.

783 785 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

Auh ilcaltica, in jcoac icalnepantla oeçic, mesa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic ommotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan conicuj in jntlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in ichoantin teupixque papaoaque, quintlacoaanciuj, in qujujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc ommjço icoalnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

çan no iuj oalteno tecpantiujtze, quintlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ocaltemoque, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc icealtica tlamaceoaia,

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[177] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

nauilhujtl in moçaoaia ic izquimjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh izquilhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no izquijoal, in icalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan ommjço in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenja quintzonquixtiaia tlamaçeoalizttli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan icalco: ioã in oc cequintin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ic ihhquj in oncanquja nauilhujtl, ioan nauhiical, in ommoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcnac quiça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, quin no icoac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ic ihhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in quilli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaceitia, in jxqujchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlaquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtia, in qujtemacaz.

643 527 648 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler made summons to a feast.

Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to this banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujchioaia tecoanotzalizttli, in ichoaõ tlatoanj.

Njman ic tecoanotza, in noujian alteped ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan cholollan tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

of Uexotzinco,[1] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed[2] war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anauac tlatoque, 643
ipan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxquichtin tla- 527
toque, ilhujcaxtendi quiçtoque, ioan in jxquichtin 648
tlatoque in altepetl ipan, quijcaalotoque mexico, tex-
coco tlatoatj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcnac ocenquijxque in jxquichtin tlacoa-
notzaltin tlatoque, in jcnuhoan tlatoque ioan iiuh-
hoan: ñjman ic quixtlaqualtia, quinmaca in atl, in
tlaqualli, tlaçotlanquj, quintlauhtia in jxquich tlaço-
tilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaço-
tlanquj chimalli, nexotilo maceoalo, cujco, ceiocal
cemjlhujtl, in tepequjltia tlatoanj.

auh in jcnac no quintlauhtia, in jxquichtin pipiltin, [431]
tiacauh, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tel-
puchtlatoque, ioan ixquichtin cujcanjme, ioan ix-
quichtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque:
auh in ozonquiz tecoanotzalixtli, njman ic om-
peoa in jxquichtin tlacoanotzalti.

INIC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, inic cana iautix, 292
altepetl ipan.

Auh çan njman iquexquijhujioc, isotlatoa in tla- T26
toanj, inic cana iauquixoalotiuh, quintlauhtia in 724
tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in
jxquichtin tiacahoan, oquichti: auh iioma in tlatoanj
in iauh iauc, in oniaoquiça, in ontepeoa quiuica in
jxquichti iauquixque, ioan in noujian tlatoque, alte-
petl ipan inic oiaoquiça, ontepeoa: auh in jcnac
ôtepeoato, oiaoquiçato cenca paqui, in quexquich
malli ocanato, inic mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli
quinmjctiaia, inic inca illujquixtiaia. Auh in ix-
quichtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, quinmauiztiotia, mjiec
tlamâtli inic quimjcnelia, quintlauhtia in tlaçotil-
matli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj,
ioan quintocamaca inic mauiztililoque, inic tlaca-
machoque, inic oquichti, tiacahoã.

1. In ibid., seventeen chapters is followed by many unimportant chapters, and rulers of the Mexican country.

[p. 66 is blank]

65

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Nineteenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

[291 278] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech clouts, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

[262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

Ic caxtolli onnauj capitulo: ipan itoa, in tlatecpanalizti in tianquizco: **sub in** ichoxtl tlatoanj, cenca quimocuitlaujaia.

In tlatoanj quimocuitlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianquizti, ioã izquich tlanamactli, inpampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeualli, ioan izquich aca, tepeua in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequelolor, injc amo xixicolor, injc amo ica necacaiaoalor, injc amo nexictilor, injc mothcouja, in anoço itla quimonamaquilia quitecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iieuian, çan iooneian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

quimjxquetzaia, in tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in quimocuitlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianquizti: ioan izquich tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, quimocuitlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecuitlaujl catca, injc aiac texixicoz, ioan quenjn tlapatiloaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

Nonqua onoca in quinamaca in coztic, ioan iztac tzucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzalitztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtototl, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan izquich nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jiech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

Nonqua onoca in quinamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tlilxochitl. Nonqua onoca in quinamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlaimachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, iatl,

ioan in izquich qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtaolli xiuhtzotlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tliltetl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexoxuhtli, chichiltic oxuhtli, mjchioxuhtli. Iztac chia, tliltic chiã, chiamotzotzol, iztac: totoli, vexolotl, çioxotzotli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipiçcan,

1. *Vej* succotl: *Cymbopetalum penduliflorum* (Dunal) Baill, in Rzedowski, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "una semilla como hranjas blancas."

-67-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

443 and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6]
643 maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitzinacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili
656 from the Cuixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long
262 chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotes,[10] ananas,[11] yellow sapotes, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *caxoniates*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Canna* seeds;[17] and
[314] white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs,
[317] water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white
412] paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and rubber,[18] and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves;
[413] maguey roots,[19] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[20] amaranth greens and heads,[20a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20b] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necutettzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, xixiziocaciotl chilli, chiltecpin, texiochilli, chilcoztli, coujxcaiotl chillj, mjlchilli, viac chilli, pocheoac chilli, mjltómatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jxqujtlamantli xochiqualli. Capoli, xoxcatl, maçaxocotl, xaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eciotzapotl, atzapotl, tzapotl, texocotl, nochtli, mjxqujtl, itlaxqujllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, xiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiooachtli, quauhaiooachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, xoxuhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, izcaujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlatlatilquaujtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamaojlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlatecoaj, aujctli, matlaquaujtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan teposcoiolomjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in ixqujch tlamãtli qujlitl quaIonj, xonacatl, tzaianalqujlitl, vitzqujlitl, oauhqujlitl. oauhtzontli, itzmjqujlitl, qujllanenel, iztac xoxocoiolj, xoxocoiolujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, xoxoco, aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl, aioxochqujlitl, eçoqujlitl, cuotl, elotl, xilotl, ooatl, mjiaoxtamalli,

4. *Atzacuxcalcad:* "*con coloradillos, tienen los picos largos, y agudos y negros; tienen los pies largos: son comederos y tienen el pecho blanco: dicen (no tienen en la provincia de Xalifasco; vienen a esta Laguna de México entre las aguas a llovia; con ellos barren de comer. Dicen que biuen, y los verdes del agua, por tiempo se conocen en agosto, dicen que los van entre a bandas en la mar, dentro del agua, y que vienen más pequeños*" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Cf. also Sahagún, *Hist. Gen. Hispan. Regnard*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Ixtamamitl, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*chichicuilotes*) says there are two species—*Phalaropus wilsonii* Bp and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipixcan:* "*son blancos y del grandor de palomas, tienen alto vuelo, crianse tanto la mar, y al tiempo de coger el maiz vienen asi dentro a la tierra, cuando estan asi vienen, entiendese que es tiempo de coger el maiz*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Ixtamamitl, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW & Rich, currently called *apipixca*.

6. *Tlalalacatl:* "*Anssares mexicbas . . . . grandes como las de España; tienen los pies colorados y el pico, son pardillos; tienen buena carne: tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprouechan para hazer mantas; las plumas de encima son ruuias, tienen buenas colores para teñirlas*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalalacatl*), according to Ixtamamitl, *op. cit.*, III, p. 194, are *Anser albifrons* Gml.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"*Cuexa género de chile llamado chiltecpin, muy menudo y morcolado con ello*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 102)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 6, *supra*.

12. Ibidem, *op. cit.*; same also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Tezocuil: tejocote—Crataegus [illegible]* Mex. (Ixtamamitl, *op. cit.*, III, p. 198).

14. *Caxoniatl: caxoniate—Tigridia pavonia* Ker; *coxoxochitl*, *id. edulis root* (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 657.

15. *Cimatl: cimate, a condiment* (Ixtamamitl, *op. cit.*, I, p. 392). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Dorstenia contrajerva* Hamil. (p. 699) or *D. paraviflorum* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. *Chiotl: chayote—Sycios edulis*; *Sechium edule*. *Cuexoxic acuxcayohuac* (Ixtamamitl, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 149, *Sechium edule* Sw.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of *quauhtzacuchil* are identified as *Jatropha curcas* Linn., *Manihot utilissima* (?) Pohl, *Croton* sp., *Canna flaccida* Linn.

18. *Ic-cuahuitl: ueuel* (imagery), *cuilimiyauil* (principio, continuo, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Ixtamamitl, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Hernández meant his to refer to trailing sarsaparilla as medicine, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the Badianus MS (Pls. 10, 73) illustrates *o. chichic* (*Cnidoscolus* sp.). Ixtamamitl, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes *tq. (pitzopeltic)* as, "*En México especie de chinchilla*" (artichoke).

19a. See Simeon, *op. cit.*, pp. 540-4, 540. Simeon suggests that "*huauhcuepili may be a corruption of . . . cuauhcuepili*," a *chamaepitys*; *C. Huauhtlae* and *C. pauhlensis* not mentioned.

20. *Xoconochli: tuniquil-Opuntia angustifolia* H. B. K.; *O. corrugata* L.; *O. tunicyclia* Cav.; *O. cantillana* Dc. (Ixtamamitl, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154); Ixtamamitl (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of *Opuntia*, but on p. 213 notes that the same word is used also for *Rumex* (subgenus *Acetosa*), and that *cuauxoxopilla* likewise identifies two species of *Begonia*.

20a. *Aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl:* "*Verdolagas, son como las de España*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 102).

20b. *Eçoqujlitl, cuotl, elotl, xilotl, ooatl:* "*Verdolagas, son como las de España*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 102).

some; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and many vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxquich qualoaj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 443 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquauhjd, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel cootzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan zaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoqujtecomatl, ioã in jxquich tlamantli çoqujtlatqujtl. 443 463 656 [276] [415]

Auh in iehoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo qujmocuitlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli qujnamaca, aço tlaçotilmadi, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oiximachililoc, intlacamo qujnertiz in aquin qujcobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, qujtzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel qujcoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianquizpantlaca qujchioaia iiexjtacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan tzoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequjtia tianquiztli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 220, describes epazotillo as "hojas y cosas de los frijoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as Mirabilis jalapa L.

[p. 70 is blank]

-69-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 **Twentieth Chapter, in which is told how they reared the sons of lords and noblemen.**

Ic cempoalli capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnoapacia in inpilhoan tlatoque, ioan pipilti.

And here is described the rearing of the sons of those who were lords, and of all the princes, who were the sons[1] of lords and noblemen.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jnnecoapacoaliz in ichoantin in tlatoque inpilhoan, ioan in jxquichtin in tlaçopipilti, in jnpilhoan tlatoque, pipilti.

854 Their mothers and fathers nourished and raised them, or nursemaids raised them while they were 855 still small children.

ichoantin in jnnaoan, in jntaoan qujmjacaltia, qujnoapaoa, anoço chichioame in qujnoapaoa in oc pipiltotonti:

565 And when they could run, when they were perhaps six years old, thereupon [the boys] went [forth] 855 to play. Their pages—perhaps two, or three—accompanied them that they might amuse them. [The child's] father or mother charged them [pages] that [the boy] not behave ill, that he not [get] himself with vice, as he went along the street.

auh in jcoac ie uel nenemj, aço ie chiquaccemjlhuja, njman ie ic iauh in masujltiz, in qujnujca ixolooa aço ome anoço ei in caaujltiz, ichoantin qujncocultia in jtatzin in jnantzin injc amo tlauelilocatiz, injc amo qujmocujtlaujz tlauelilocaiotl: in jcoac otli qujtocaz.

565 And also they took great care that he should con-867 verse fittingly with others—that his conversation should be proper; that he should respect and show reverence to others—[when] perchance he somewhere might chance to meet a judge, or a leading militia officer, or a seasoned warrior, or someone of lesser rank; or a revered old man, or a respected old woman; or someone who was poor. He should greet him and bow humbly. He said: "Come hither, my beloved grandfather; let me bow before thee." And the old one who had been greeted then said: "O my beloved grandson, O precious stone, O precious feather, thou has shown me favor. May it go well with thee."

Auh no cenca qujcujtlaujltiaia injc vel tenotzaz, injc qualli iez in jtlatol, injc trimacaçiz, injc temauhcaittaz, aço cana qujnamjquiz aço tecutlato, anoço achcauhtlâiacati, anoço iuuequjoa, anoço çan aca tlapaltzintli, anoço veuentzin, anoço ilamatinj, anoço aca motolinja, qujtlapaloz cenca mopechteca, quilhuja, xiualmoujca noculuzine, ma njmjtznotlauili: auh in ichoatl oquitlapalo veuentzin njmâ quilhuja notzujubtzine cuzcatle quezalle otinechmocnelili ma ximonenemjti:

And when the young boy thus saluted others, they praised him highly for it. They rejoiced greatly over it; they were joyful because of it. They said: "How will this beloved child be, if he shall live? He will in sooth be a nobleman. Mayhap his reward will be something [great]."

auh injc iuh tetlapaloa, y, in piltontli, ic cenca qujpiecteneoa, cenca ic papaquj, ic motlamachtia qujtoa: quenamj ietiuhi in piltzintli intla nemjz ca tel pilli, aço itla imaçeual iez.

565 Until when he was already maybe ten, twelve, or 871 thirteen years old, they placed him in the priests' house; they delivered him into the hands of the fire priests and [other] priests, that he might be reared

Auh in jcoac ie matlacxiuhtia aço ie vmome, anoço ie omej, icoac qujcâlaquja in calmecac, inmac qujmoncaoaia in tlenamacaque, in tlamacazque, injc vmpa incaltiloz nonozalos, tlachiclilloz inic vel

1. After *jnpilhoan*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: "*Inic conaquaia inic motlatlacoa ça ye no yuh in omoteo in tlacatilloh, quen ca*"—"They were reared and brought up just as both have been told in the (previous) set birth."

565 871 there, corrected, and instructed; that he might live an upright life. They constrained him to do the penances, setting fir branches [on the city altars] at night, or there where they went to place the fir branches on mountain tops—there where sacrifices were made at midnight. Or else he entered the song house; they left him in the hands of the masters of the youths. They charged him with the sweeping, or with dancing and song—with all which was concerned with the performance of penances.

565 868 701 And when he was already fifteen years old, then he took up arms; or, reaching twenty years of age, then he went forth to war. First [his parents] summoned those who were seasoned warriors. They gave them to eat and to drink, and they gave gifts to all the seasoned warriors. They gave them large, cotton capes, or carmine colored breech clouts, or capes painted with designs. And then they besought the seasoned warriors; in just the same way as hath been told above, so they entreated them.

And then they took him to the wars. The seasoned warriors went taking great care of him, lest somewhere he might be lost. And they taught him well how to guard himself with a shield; how one fought; how a spear was fended off with a shield. And when a battle was joined, when already there was fighting and perhaps already captives were being taken, they taught him well and made him see how he might take a captive. Perhaps then he took a captive with the aid of others, or he [alone] could take one.[2] For truly it was well seen to that many men become brave warriors.

[202] And when captives were being taken, then at once couriers, of marriageable age, quickly went forth, called victory messengers, who speedily went to inform Moctezuma.

And when the victory messengers had come to arrive, then they quickly entered into the presence of Moctezuma and said to him: "O our lord, O my youth, pay thy debt and thy service [to the god]; for the omen of evil, Uitzilopochtli, hath shown favor and been gracious. For they have pierced the rampart of men dexterous in arms of the city against which they have gone. Into it have marched[3] the Mexicans of Tenochtitlan, the Mexicans of Tlatilulco, the Tepanecs, the Acolhua, the Otomí, the Matlatzincas,

nemja quicuitlaujtia in tlamaceoliztli, in ioaltica in acoiatlalilitli içaçocampa acroiatlaliuh in tepeticpac, in vmpa onmjcoia ioalnepantla, anoce cujcacali quicalaquja, inmac concaca in tiachcauan, quicujtlaujtia in tlachpanaliztli, anoço cujcoianoliztli, in jaquich tlamantli tlamaçeoliztli mochicoia.

Auh in jcuac ie cantolxiuhtia icoac moiaomamalchtia anoço aci cempoalxiujtl injc quiça iauc, in ichoantin tequjoaque achtopa quinnotza quintlaqualtia. quimatlitia, ioan quintlauhtia in jxquichtin tequjoaque, in qujnmaca aço quatheli anoço nochpalmaxtlatl, anoço tlacujlolli in tilmatli. Auh njman quitlatlauhtia in tequjoaque, çan ie no iuhquj in ommo tlacpac injc quintlatlauhtia.

Auh njman ie quihujca, in iauc: vel quimocuitlaujtiuj in tequjoaque, in ma cana xiccaoalo:[2] auh vel quimachtia, in iuh momana chimalli, in iuh iautica, in iuh mochimaltopeoa mjtl. Auh in jcuac ie mochioa iauiotl, in ie necalioa, anoce ie tlamalo, uel conittitia, vel contlachieltia, in vmpa tlámaz: aço njmá tepallama, anoço njman vel ic caçi ipampa ca cenca necuitlaujlo ca mjiec tlacatl in ytiacauh mochioa.

Auh in ie tlamalo, njman achtopa oalpeuhtiquiça in tequjnque tlapaliuj, intoca tequjpan titlanti in quioalnonotztiuetzi motecuçuma:

auh in oncico tequjpan titlanti, njman ic hiciuhca calactiuetzi ipan in motecuçuma quilhuja. Totecujoe notelpotzine, ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ca oicnopiltic, onmaceoltic, in tetzaujtl in ujtzilobuchtli, ca otepan quitopeuh in quimhtenamjtl, in ocelotenamjtl, ca ẽa in altepetl: in vmpa tlatlamatitiaque in mexica tenochca, in mexica tlatilulca, in tepanecatl, in aculhoa, in otomjtl, in matlatzincatl, iie inipẽh tlalhuacpanecatl in chinampanecatl.

2. *Vel le aui*: the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *se* for *le*.
3. *Tlathamatitiaque*: Simeon, *op. cit.*—*thathamatitiaque*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dextrous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only feel me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatelulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

Auh qujmjlhujaia in motequma, canquiçiauhque, canqujhiaque in oçeloquichtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jnehtica tlatolli:

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auh njman quimonealtzaqua intlacamo melauac tlatolli oquiçaquitique motequma quintlatlatia quinpopolos.

[687]

Auh in ymua iuuc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuqui in oia in oanpeuhuh, alhepetl, njman ic motempos in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioc in tenochtitli, quezquj oaxioc in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omochiuh.

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Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallaxtlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj in Jehoantin in tetequjoaque, in quiçalnooaxa motequçuma, in ie uel imelauaca in jcentzontecca, in quiçalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli:

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auh in quimelauhtiaia in quezquintin otlacnopilhuique in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequintin motequioacaxitia anoce cequintin telpuchiacati. Jn quiçaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in otlamaque: auh quinjquac quinaqujxtiaiq in quiocaltzaquaia in tequipan titlanti quimõtehoan motlatlauhtia.

[431]

Auh intla oalmjtoa inujotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamaque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel quinmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in otlamaque, in onmomaxtique in econinjaoaiotique in pilloti in quauhiotl, in ocelotl, ic oncan in quiça in tlatocati, in quipachoa alhepetl, auh quinjquac intlan quintlalia: ytlan tlapoa in motecuçuma

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4. Chimalpopoca: Sahagún's exemplar on fol. 32 of Book X of the Florentine Codex is described: "y lee de la tierra arriba, que son los comarcanos de los chinampas."

-73-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

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301

He gave them long, yellow labrets; or curved, yellow lip plugs; or long, blue labrets; or curved, blue lip plugs; or curved, green stone lip plugs; or green stone lip plugs; or lip shafts.[6] Then [he gave them] head bands with two quetzal feather tassels [interwined] with flint knives [fashioned] of gold and with golden pendants; or head bands with two tzupial feather tassels; and cured leather ear plugs; and costly capes—the one [known as] the lord's cape, with the obsidian serpent design; or the ashen gray one with red eyes on the border; or with earthen jars designed in feathers; or with the obsidian arrow step design; and costly breech clouts[7]—perhaps the breech clout with twisted ends, [or] with cotton at the ends—various kinds of costly breech clouts; and devices—perchance [the one with] the quetzal feather comb; or the golden banner; or the yellow Xolotl head; or the golden hood; or the golden conical cap; or the quetzal feather banner; or the obsidian butterfly with quetzal feathers and eyes of gold; and costly shields—perhaps [the one of] the skin [and feathers] of the blue cotinga; or of yellow parrot feathers—verily, all the costly shields. And he gave them stewardships; possibly in two places or in three he gave them [such offices]. For truly they had taken [captives].

643 And if the ruler should die, from these one was chosen to govern the city. And likewise from these, some were placed at the feet [of the judges] who pronounced judgments and meted out death sentences. [These were] the Tlacochcalcatl tecutli, or the Ticociauacatl tecutli, or the Cioacoatl tecutli, or the Tlillancalqui tecutli.[7]

in quinmaca cuxtic teçacatl, anoço cuztic tencololli, anoço xoxouhquj teçacatl, anoço xoxouhquj tencololli, anoço chalchiuhtencololli, anoço calchiuhtentetl, anoço tlanjtenteti: ajman ic quetzallaipilonj teucujtlatica tecpaio, ioan teucujtlatl in jpepeiocio, anoço çaquan tlalpilonj, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli, ioan tlaçotilmatli, ichoatl in tlatocatilmatli in jtzcoaio, anoço ixnextentlapallo, anoce iujticatetecomaio, anoço itzmixicalcoliuhquj, yoan tlaçomaxtlatl, anoçe tzi?colíuhquj maxtlatl, aiacaichcaio, içaço quexquich tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, aço quetzalpatzactli, anoço teucujtlapanjtl, anoço-tozquaxolotl, anoço teucujtlaquaçalalatli, anoçe teucujtlacopilli, anoço quetzalpanjtl, anoçe itzpapalotl quetzallo teucujtlatl in ixjelolo, ioan tlaçochimalli, aço xiuhtotoieoatl, anoçe tzineoatl in ie uel ixquich tlaçotlanquj chimalli, ioán quinmaca calpixcantli, aço ooccan, anoço eexcan in quinmaca: ipampa ca nel ocaçique.

Auh intla mjquiz tlatoanj: ichoantin ceme analoia, inje ichoantin quipachozque altepetl. Auh çan no ichoantin, cequintin ontlalilo tlacxitlan, in vncan tecutlatoa, in tlatzontequj, in quiztlacticate mjquiztli: tlacochcalcatl tecutli, anoço ticociauacatl, tecutli, aço çioacoatl tecutli, anoço tlillancalquj tecutli.

7. *Tlaxcaxcal*, Ixtlxr, *op. cit.*, p. 332, has *dzinkaxcaxcal*.

6. After your dispensation, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: *quezcoxcaxcalxi—Kaklkipichkaxkaxcalxi*, according to Ixtlxr, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

7. A passage omitted from the *Florentine Codex* but included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending this chapter, has been placed in Appendix B.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

Twenty-first Chapter, in which is told how all arose through the ranks until they became judges.

And behold how began the life of the young boy. At first, while still a small boy, his hair was shorn. And when he was already ten years old, they then let a tuft of hair grow on the back of his head. And when he was fifteen years old, then the tuft of hair became long. [This was] when he had nowhere taken captives.

And if he took a captive with the help of others —perchance doing so with the aid of two, or of three, or of four, or of five, or of six, at which point came to an end [the reckoning] that a captive was taken with others' help—then the lock of hair was removed. And thus was the division of their captive: in six parts it came. The first, who was the real captor, took his body and one of his thighs—the one with the right foot. And the second who took part [in the capture] took the left thigh. And the third took the right upper arm. The fourth took the left upper arm. The fifth took the right forearm. And as for the sixth, he took the left forearm.

And when the tuft on the back of his head was removed, he was shorn so that he was left [another] lock: his hair dress kept, on the right side, the hair hanging low, reaching the bottom of his ear; to one side [only] was his lock of hair set. When this [was done], he assumed another face, he appeared otherwise, so that it might be seen that he had made a captive with the help of others [and that] the tuft of hair on the back of his head had been removed.

And then his grandfather, or his beloved uncle, addressed him. He said to him: "My beloved grandson, the sun, the lord of the earth, hath washed thy face. Thou hast taken another face; and thou hast gone to throw thyself against the foe. Let them take thee if, without profit, once more thou takest a captive with the aid of others. What wouldst thou be? Wouldst thou have a young girl's lock of hair? Take care lest thou again take a captive with others' help. Cast thyself against our foes."

Inic cempoalli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa, in iuh- 302
qujma tlamamatlatl inic tlecnia in jxquichica tecu- 855
tlaro muchioa.

Auh izcatquj inic ontzinti, in imemjliz in telpuch-
tontli, in iacachto çan oc moquateçonoa in oc paltontli: auh in ie matlactiujtl icoac mocuexpaltia, auh in caxtolxiujtl, icoac cuexpalchicacpul muchioa in ican tlama.

Auh intla tepal otlama aço oteoncaioti, anoço 727
oteecaioti, anoço otenauhcaioti anoço otemacujlcaioti, 858
anoço otechiquacencaioti vncan tlantica inic tepal tlamalo inic necuexpallaçalo. Auh inic quimoxexelhuja inmal chiquaceccā quiça. Inic ce vel iehoatl in tlamani quicui in itlac: ioan ce imetz: iehoatl in tomaiauhcāpa tocxi: auh inic teoncaiotia, quicui in topochcopa tometz. Auh inic tehecaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tahcul. Jnic tenauhcaiotia: quicui in topochcopa tacul. Jnic temacuilcaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tomatzotzopaz. Auh inic tlachiquacencaiotia iehoatl quicui in topochcopa tomatzotzopaz.

Auh in in icoac mocuespallaça, inic motima motzotzocoltia quioallamachia in innexin imaiauhcāpa quioalhuilancaiotia inacaz itzintlan oalaci iiaca motema initzotzocul: in icoac y oc centetl quicui inixaiac oc centlamantli ic tlachia inic ittoz ca otepallama omocuespallaz.

Auh niman ic quitlatlauhtia in icul anoço itlaxin 603
quilhuia. Nouiuhtze omitzmixamili in tonatiuh, i 604
tlahecutli ocentetl tiecuic in motzaiac, auh ça otia, 861
inuicpa xonmomaiani ma mitzuicacan in toiaiotol
intla nen oc ceppa tepal xitlama tle tien cuis timaxotzocoltiz, ma nen ie no cuel tepal titlama ça inca ximomotla in toiauhoan.

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was so said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic cepa ommo ic nappa yioti in iaoc quinocaiotia cuenpalchiacopul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin ieoac tecu mommoch inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama ieoac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan nimaŋ amo tepallama, amo uel mocuepallaça amono mopotonia, inic tzonxima moquniocoltzinta çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

Auh [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ie imaceoaltí in tlaltiçacaiotl, in neculitonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuepallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quidalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ceŋin iztac in ichtilmatcon iztac in imaxtlatcon,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
386] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochtiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ipan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocăn. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtilia mistlapalhoztzalhuia quicemaquia in ixxiac, auh in icanaoacan quiteoztzauhuia in icalpiscahoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoaoanqui ioan centetl colotlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacaxiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh ieoac compeoaltia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no ompa quiuica in ipan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in ineltlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the sing house.

Auh inic eí cacitzan ic no iuhqui in ineltlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochtiaqui quicălaquiaia inuchican in telpochcali inic ompa tlacaoapaoa tlacaxcaltia ompa quimixcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoiniocoaia in icuitica in ompa cuicacali.

1. Following quitocmacheo, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has yoan ompa quinquemiz—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the Florentine Codex.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "una manta con unas listas labradas de color morado; y otra manta labrada, de otras colores labradas de colorado que se llaman cohalapalli; y . . . un maxtle labrado de colorado, largo que arrastrase hasta colgado, y otro maxtle labrado de varios colores."

And when he took four, Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior. He was named a seasoned warrior. And then also he assumed the titles of a seasoned warrior—perchance Mexicatl tequiua, or Tolnauacatl tequiua, or Ciuatecpanecatl tequiua: all the titles of a seasoned warrior. And then in truth was when they placed him on the mat and stool of the warriors' house—there where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochcalcatl, the Tlacateccatl, the Ticociauacatl, the Atempanecatl—those who were great captains, who had long labrets, who had leather ear plugs, who had head bands with [two] eagle-feather tassels, with which [their hair] was bound.

And if six, or seven, or ten Huaxteca, or barbarians,[2] were taken, he gained thereby no renown. For this his title was only seasoned warrior.

Then if he went to take captives at Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, or Tliliuhquitepec, for the fifth one whom he captured, then he gained great honor. For this his name was that of a great, brave warrior—a great captain. Then Moctezuma gave him a long, blue labret and a head band with [two] tufts of [eagle] feathers,[4] perchance with silver flint knives [between the eagle feathers], and leather ear plugs, and a bright red, rich, netting cape. And also he was then given a cape of two colors divided diagonally; and a leather cape.

And if he went to take two [captives] from Atlixco or[5] Uexotzinco, then already he filled everyone with awe. Then they gave him a long, yellow labret; he required[6] both the blue [and the yellow] long labrets.[7]

End

Auh inic naui caci ieh icoac quitequioacaxima in motecuçoma motocaiotia tequioa, auh no icoac compeoaltia in tequioacatocaitl aço mexicatl tequioa, anoço tolnauacatl tequioa anoço cioatecpanecatl tequioa in isquich tequioacatocaitl, auh uel icoac contlalia impetlapan icpalpan in quauhcali in vmpa cenquiztoque in ueuei tlacahoan in vmpa cate in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl in ticociauacatl, tocuiltecatl, atenpanecatl, iehoantin quauhiaca i, tẽçacauaque cuitlamacochique quauhtlalpiloni inic ontlalpiloque. [293] 701

Auh intla chiquacen intla chicome anoço matlactin oquimacic cuestecatl, aço tenitl amo ic panuetzi, çan ic itoca in iaotequioa [186]

ca quinicoac intla otlamato atlisco anoco Uexotzinco, anoço tliliuhquitepec inic macuilli caci icoac vel panuetzi inic veitiacauh in itoca quauhiacatl niman quimaca in motecuçoma xoxouhqui tẽçacatl [43] ioan tlalpiloni aço iztac teucuitlatl in itecpaio, ioan [293] cuetlaxiacochtli ioan chichiltic cuechintli. Auh nõ [301] icoac maco in tilmatli chicoapalnacazminqui, ioan cuetlascilmatli.

Auh intla ome cacitiuh in atlisco anoco vexotzinco ie ic centlamamauhtia icoac quimaca in coztic tẽçacatl [293] iiomesti quititlani in xoxouhqui tẽçacatl. 301

fin

3. *Texcal*: "Hazer sobre sí llorando [Olmos, Uarreio, Mirrao] *entre hazia el mediodia del sol, y Hizmaelez semblo vaimez, porque hablez hagan Alcharo*"—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 133. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text.

4. Following *tlalpiloni*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* 383 has *quauhtlalpiloni*—head band with eagle feather pendants. This word is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

5. *Anoco* should be read *anoço*.

6. *Quititlani*: a reexplored gloss in the *Real Academia de la Historia* 383 suggests that the term is translated *auer*. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text, and, in Simeon, *op. cit.*, *itlani*, *itlania*, *itlanilia*.

7. Following *xoxouhqui*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* 383 has *in cuuic*; these words are omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.
A passage left out of this codex is included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* 383, ending the chapter. It is placed in Appendix C.

[p. 78 has no text material]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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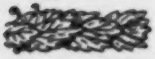
APPENDICES



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6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoztlauha yn tepeticpac, yoã atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamacrua. 346 793

Ca y ichoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl im piçietl tlanelolli thilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoã xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoã ocotl, yoã quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecuciztli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [705] [281] [276] 415

[534]

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimã yc vncã moztlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoztlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiuitze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Gliederung der Alt-Azteckischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 338, says of the form tenxo: "*Da er im Text diejenigen bezeichnet, der den Copalbrand trägt, wird er sich von Priester handeln.*" The term *tlamacazqueloc* he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*erklimmt sie mit einer Schnur.*"

793
684 And if the ruler learned that a fire priest or [another] priest lived in concubinage, and had looked upon a woman, he then pronounced judgment upon him and proceeded to visit punishment upon him. He was despoiled of his goods; they were secreted in his house, [so that] nothing[1] was to be seen [of them]. Likewise judgment was pronounced upon a fire priest or [other] priest if he was drunk.

[687]

Auh yn tlatoani yntla quimachilix, tlenamacac, tlamacazqui omomecati, oquitac çiuatl, niman quitlatzontequilia, quitzacuhtiuh, namoelo, tlatataco yn icha, atl neneçi. ça no yuh tlatzontequililoya yntla otlauan tlenamacac, tlamacazqui.

1. *ahi*: probably *ahic* is meant.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[2] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[4] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monextitiuitze mochinti quihcuistiuitze in inquatzõ ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc. ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im macecualti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzõ y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz macecualtin nimã ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were pasted with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

auh im pipiltin in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia motecciuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamastlatl. y cẽca tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcozcayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

auh ỹ yeuatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpiejtia in calpisqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in ẽpiezque. 727

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.

This passage originally, in the *Real Academia MS*, completed the section ending *nõhuel quinehcauo motlatlauhti*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 there appears as an interpolation.

2. The abbreviation for the ending *-que* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.

3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *tlatocotequilo*, and *ovallatoca tequilo*. Seler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 20 (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 331)—*ihr auf y malmata interessanterer*—is "*in richtiger Weise die Zahl der Fischbandera.*"

4. Cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba, Méx.: [Imprenta May5], 1940), p. 100; also Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 519.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

782 293 727 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with] quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he danced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

nimā ye ic quimaca in motecciuiçoma in tlauiztli quetzalcomitl inic ypan tlamictiz. amo uel ytech pouia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mitotia ychicauaz yetiuh. anoço itzpapaloel. anoço quetzalcomitl teocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

796 727 And the captive he then took there where he was to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

auh i yeuatl malli. niman ic quiuica in ompa miquiz temalacac icpac cantiuh contlehcauia, in oncan q'uahuanazqz malli. ymac concaua ytoca cuitlachueue. in imac onacitimanca mamalti iuhq'nma ypilhuā quinchiuaya. Auh niman cōmaca ȳ yocotzonteuh nauhtetl inic q'momotlaz tlauauanq'. yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. amo tenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

[793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

Auh y yeuantin in teuauanaya in tletlenamacaqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çam moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitztiçac in imal. uel ispā im miq'.

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

Auh ȳ ye iuhqui in oc̄e-ncauh malli in cuitlachueue, niman ye ic yauh quitiz in octli tnihtouaya teooctli. inic quinq' acatecomatl tlatempotonilli. in ōya. niman ic coniaua in ompa tialquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauitl moch coniaua. inic cōmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachueue. niman ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauanaz ychimal ymacquauh yetiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

auh in ōya. niman ic cōuiteq' im malli. auh no q'ualhuitequi auh intla yollo chicauac im malli intla uel tiacauh y uel oq'chtli. aço yey tlacatl anoço naui tlacatl in q'moyehcultia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouelhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chtli intlacamo tiacauh çan niman ōmoteca in oncan temalacac amo ontlachecoua. çan iciuhca ommaquetztiteca niman ic coneiteq' concuilia in iyollo conianilia in tonatiuh. ompa-ualq'ça

And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototecti* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototecti*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototecti*; they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totectzontecconitlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototecti* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

Auh i ye iuhqui ommicouac. nimā ye ic mihtoa in tlauhuiñqz in otemictiqz ỹ yeuatin tlamacazqz. in ipan mihtoa cecentetl in tzontecomatl intlan caana. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca q'nchoq'lia ỹ yehuātin ypilhuā in omicqz. 796 727 793

auh i yeuatl malli nimā ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui ye totec, [çan moquetzticacqui]* in ieuayo. in iquichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in imeuayo. oncan mocenquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco. inchimal immacquauh yetiuh inchicauaztopil. auh no mocenq'stiaya ỹ ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan mjuintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl in ococquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

oc uel youā im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani in quemmā ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh in tiacaua nimā ye ic no motecpana q'minnamictinomana in tototecti. aço nauhmapa. in motztimani. auh nimā ye ic ompeua in tiacaua ỹuicpa ōuetzi in tototecti q'moncotonilia in inxic ça uel ỹciuhca in oq'mocotoniliqz nimā ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa q'mōmana in innemanaya in itocayocā totectzontecontitlā. oncan ualmocuepa in tiacaua. çan tequitl q'mōcaua. 796

Auh i ye iuhq' nimā ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techā. uel nouian calaq̄ auh im maceualli ye iuhca ỹollo quinchie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallascalli. ytzocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepancalaq' in ontlaçotlalo. 796 431 262

auh in imostlayoc anoço y cempoualloc. ça campa quiquiça aço tlanquizco. tlatlaceuā. in quetzeua cōmaca im male. q'xelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl. aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tlanquizco onoc. tiomoztlae yui.

5. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

796 And when they had come to [the end of] the twenty days, thereupon they went to Yopico. There they laid away their skins; then they cast them down in a cave, a very deep place, and there buried them.

auh in oacicqz cempouallilhuitl niiniz ye ic ui i yopilco. ompa quitlalia in imeuayo niman contepena oztoc uel huecatlã ompa contoca.

Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moctezuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as short ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wheresoever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhtlalpiaya cortic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couaxayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. motecuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli ommãtiuh i mastlatl. [701] [293] [431]

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tliltic. in icuetlasmecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlastli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momauizçotitiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im motecuiçoma. cẽca motleyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quauuhti, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [574]

Auh no yquac quimahcoua in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacateccatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacatèccatl yquac ano pepenalo. yéuantin ym ixiptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in isquichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlauhtiaya motecuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tlilpapatlauac chichiltec çoel nanauhmaca. auh no yui in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya cuẽtopaltẽuauanq' colotlalpili nochpalmastlatl yacayecacozcayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin ĩ in otiq'nteneuhqz i yaoteq̃uaqz i yaotachcauã. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicximaya. motecuiçoma anoço quimotõximaya. in tiacauã cauca. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa ualmitouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichisticate quipopoubticate in inquauhyo in [701] [721]

1. See ending of Chapter 21, above.

701 721 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor, as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

imoceloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauh. inic ayac ỹ uiui ça quipopoulhtinemi in immiquiz. im ma ualmihto yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quesquich cauitl nemitzqz, auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimā cemolini i ye istlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecca in oacito in ōpa tepeuazqz. oc cemilhuipā ī yaoteca.

726 687 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitiui in quaquachicti. no ommettitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya ī moteoccçoma. aocmo calaqz in q̃uhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca monequ. auh q'caualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlaçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço icçotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamahcetualmacaya.

701 431 643 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] remembered him, sought him out, and drew him from his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts; he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full or maize grains; and he provided him with *chía*—he weighed out two large measures of *chía*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

auh in quilnamiquia aço ce xiuitl anoço ōxiuitl. in quitemouaya. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in ōya ispā motecuiçoma. nimā ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli aço quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuā quitlaoltia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. aço ontetl y ueytzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh quī ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in q̃uhcali. ypampa ca ontlamahceuh oc ceppa mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauizço.

701 726 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior], he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yotōyo ypan otlama in ompa atlisco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic paquia in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahtoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oypan tlamahqz inquachicyo in imotōyo. ỹpāpa ca oquimiauayotito in quauhyotl in oceloyotl.

6 Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Then were drawn forth and chosen the general and the commanding general. Then the man dexterous in arms attained his end; such honor he won that no one anywhere might be adorned [like him]: no one in his [own] house might assume all his finery. For in truth [because of] his dart and his shield there was drinking and eating, and one was arrayed in cape and breech clout. For verily in Mexico were we, and thus persisted the reign of Mexico.

oncan quiztiuia oncam pepenaloya. in tlacochcal- 701
catl in tlacateccatl mochiuaya. oncan y tlamiani in
q̃uhyotl inic pãuechouaya inic ayac çan campa omo-
chichiuaya. ayac çan icalitic. oquicuic in isquich
ynechichiual. ca nel mitl ca chimalli in oyuac in
oqualoc. auh in oquemouac in tilmahtli im mastlatl.
ca nel mexico in ticate ca ic mani ĩ mexicayotl.